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THE TRUE  
ARMED JOHN  
CARD: & DUKE



OFFICERS OF  
du PLESSIS  
of RICHELIEU.



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THE TRUE  
ARMED JOHN  
CARD: & DUKE

OFFICES OF  
du PLESSIS  
of RICHELIEU.

THE  
L I F E

Of the Famous

Cardinal-Duke

*De RICHLIEU,*

Principal Minister of State

T O

*LEWIS XIII.* King of  
*France and Navarr.*

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V O L. II.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Matth. Gillyflower, Will. Freeman,*  
*J. Walsboe, and R. Parker, 1695.*

THE

ANTI-DOT

WATER

TO THE KING OF  
SINGAPORE

THE  
1800

THE  
HISTORY

Of the FAMOUS  
Cardinal *de RICHLIEU*.

VOL. II. BOOK IV.

*Containing the most Remarkable Occurrences of  
his Life, from the flight of the Queen Mother  
in 1631, to the Year 1634.*

**B**EFORE the Queen-Mother went out of *France*, as I have already observ'd in the preceding Book, the King sent to the Parliament of *Paris* the same Declaration which he had caus'd to be Confirm'd in that of *Dijon*, wherein he Declar'd all the Adherents of the Duke of *Orleans* to be guilty of High-Treason. But the Parliament of *Paris* made some difficulty to confirm it without any foregoing Deliberation, as the King desir'd them; and this they ground'd upon the following Reasons.

B

*First,*

<sup>1</sup> 63 1. *First*, This Declaration against all usual Forms had been laid before another Parliament besides that of *Paris*, which alone is the Court of Peers, and the first Parliament of the Kingdom. *Secondly*, It, by Name, declared a President to be guilty, who, by this means, would be condemned by the Court without being heard. *Thirdly*, This Declaration might reach even the Person of the Duke of *Orleans*, whose Interest had been always dear to the Parliament. They came \* therefore to a Deliberation, and the Company divided, instead of Voting the Confirmation which the King demanded.

\* The 25 of  
Ap. Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. iv.  
c. 17. *Siri*  
Mem. Rec. T.  
7. P. 358.  
† The 12th of  
May.

Our Minister not able to endure that they should show the least consideration for his Enemies, perswaded the King to go quickly to † *Paris*, to have his Declaration Confirmed, and to give some Mortification to the Parliament. The King being arriv'd at the *Loivre*, sent Orders to the Parliament to come thither in a Body on foot. The Parliament obeyed, and were conducted to the Gallery which joyns the Tuilleries with the *Louvre*, where they found the King under a Canopy raised up for that purpose. The Lord Keeper Spoke first; and after the first Ceremonies were over, told the Parliament, That their Power extended onely to the Affairs of private Men, and not to matters of State, the cognifance of which belonged to the Supreme Governour: That where a Prince, or Duke, or any Officer of the Crown, receives his Trial for any Misdemeanour in the Administration of the Treasury, or of State-Affairs, his Majesty is obliged, either to direct a particular Commission to the Parliament, to enable them to Act in such a case; or else to be present himself Personally, to Authorize these extraordinary Proceedings: That it is true indeed, that to Judge by a Commission required a previous knowledge of the Cause, but that in the case of Ratifying a Declaration, which always allows a certain time to those that are Guilty to return to their Duty, there was no need of farther Deliberation. This was as much as to say, That the King was willing to make use of the Parliamentary Authority, to destroy with more formality those who favoured his Brother; but would not allow the Parliament the Power of Clearing them if they were innocent.

Chateaucuf's



## Book IV. *Cardinal de Richlieu.*

3

*Chateaufort's* Discourse being ended, the King Com-  
manded the Register of the Parliament to be brought to  
him, and the Lease to be shewed where the Vote of Se-  
paration was Written, and so tore it himself to pieces,  
to have the Decree of the Council inserted in its place,  
which Prohibited the Court of Parliament to Delibe-  
rate any more upon the Declarations, concerning State-  
Affairs, upon pain of Interdiction to the Counsellors, and  
of something worse, as the King should think fit. 'Twas  
likewise Ordered, That for a Punishment of the Fault  
committed by the Parliament, the Declaration sent to  
them should be drawn back, and they Prohibited to  
take any knowledge of the Contents thereof. For a To-  
ken of his Indignation, the King Suspended from their  
Office, and Exiled two Presidents of the Court of In-  
quest, and a Counsellor, who were nevertheless im-  
mediately after re-established. The same day the  
Council pass'd another Sentence against the Duke of Or-  
leans's Attorney, who Presented the before-mentioned  
Petition; and the King upon that issued out \* another \* *The 26th of*  
Declaration upon the same Subject, a few days af- *May.*  
ter.

These Proceedings against the Duke of Orleans's Pe-  
tition were the cause, that the Queen's Request, which  
was sent to the same Parliament, Packed up with some  
other Papers, was not onely broke open, but the Pac-  
quet it self was carried to the King. So that the Com-  
plaints which this Princess, and Monsieur made against  
the Cardinal, onely ended in a few Printed Pamphlets,  
which they took care to have thrown about the Streets,  
or under-hand distributed; but there was no Tribunal  
where they might make their Address; for as to the  
King's Council, which depended more upon the Mini-  
ster than himself, it was to no purpose to make their  
Application to it. The King himself was beset with  
People devoted to the Cardinal, whose continual busi-  
ness it was to entertain him in an Ill Humour against  
his nearest Friends and Relations; and as he beheld  
nothing but by the Eyes of other People, both his Mother  
and Brother appeared as Guilty before him, as it plea-  
sed the Cardinal to represent them.

1631.

Sometime \* after the withdrawing of the Queen-Mother, the King issued out another Declaration, in which he Defamed this Princess and the Duke of Orleans; and, on the contrary, bestowed large Commendations on the Cardinal. He said, amongst other things, That the Evil Counsellours of his Brother had moved him, contrary to the Duty of his Birth, and to that Respect he owed him to Write him Letters full of Calumnies, and Seditious Lyes against the Government; That against all Truth and Reason he had Accused his most Dear and Well-beloved Cousin the Cardinal of Richlieu, of Infidelity, and of harbouring Ill Designs against his Sacred Person, that of the Queen, and his own, and against the State; That the Queen-Mother had been wrought upon long ago by Ill Counsels, and took more part in the Duke of Orleans's Designs than she ought, being, in all probability, induced to it by the Ill Reports which some Persons professing Curious and Evil Sciences had spread abroad, to give them some hopes of a sudden Revolution: That having desired the Queen-Mother to assist him with her Advice, as she had done before; she had Answered him, She was weary of meddling with Affairs, and would have no more to do with them; whereby she gave him sufficiently to understand, that she was deeply engag'd in the Duke's Designs: That thereupon he had taken a Resolution to Separate himself from her for some time (*After this manner did the Cardinal speak of the Imprisonment of the Queen-Mother, which he called a Separation,*) and so desired her to go to Moulins, which she refused to do; and that she onely offered to go to Nevers, while Monsieur was at Orleans, to be nearer to his Person, but had refused to do it, when she heard that he was gone from thence: That after her departure from Compeigne, she had sent a Request to the Parliament of Paris, full of false and injurious Invectives against Cardinal Richlieu, and Written a Letter to His Majesty, containing several Studied Pretences to Colour her withdrawing, and many Complaints against the Cardinal, which had no other foundation, but those Calumnies and Falshoods which were suggested by the Ill-Counsellours of Monsieur: That both the one and the other aimed,

\* The 12th of  
August, See  
Aubrey's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 4.  
c. 18.



aimed, by the same means, to endeavour the Subver- 1 6 3 1.  
 sion of the Royal Authority, and of the Kingdom; That  
 not being yet satisfied with the first Calumnies she had  
 Written to His Majesty, she was \* besides wrought upon  
 to Write to the Parliament, and to the Provost of the  
 Merchants of *Paris*, to perswade them to Revolt, and  
 to give an Ill Example to others. That as he Confirm-  
 ed all the preceding Declarations, so he declared all  
 those to be guilty of High-Treason, and Disturbers of  
 the Publick Peace, who should be found to have any  
 share in such Pernicious and Damnable Designs, as to  
 withdraw the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*  
 from their Allegiance, and to induce them to go out of  
 the Kingdom, and likewise all those who had followed  
 them, and were with them: That his Royal Pleasure  
 and Will was, that they should be proceeded against,  
 and that he strictly prohibited all Persons to keep any  
 Correspondence either with the Queen-Mother, or the  
 Duke, upon any pretence whatsoever; and if any of  
 their Letters should fall into the hands of his Subjects,  
 they should send them immediately to the Royal  
 Judges of the Provinces, or to the Keeper of the  
 Seals; That all the Mannors which they held of the  
 Crown should be seized upon, and re-united to the  
 King's Demesne; themselves deprived of their Digni-  
 ties and Offices, and all their Estates forfeited to the  
 King.

This last Article involved the Queen-Mother and  
 Monsieur, as well as those that followed them, the  
 Queen's Dowry, and all the Revenues of the Duke be-  
 ing stop'd and seized. While the King dishonoured both  
 his Mother and Brother, with so rigorous a procedure,  
 and took from them all manner of Subsistence, because  
 they had been so daring as to desire that the Cardinal of  
*Richlieu* might be turned out, he heaped new Honours  
 and Favours upon this happy Minister. His † Land of  
*Richlieu* was erected into a Dukedom and Peerdome,  
 and there was afterwards a Contention amongst the  
 Courts of Parliament, which of them should receive  
 this Prelate in the Quality of a Duke and Peer. But at  
 last it was agreed, That the Great Chamber, that of the  
*Edict*, and that of the *Tournelle*, being Assembled to-

\* See these  
 Letters in the  
 Collection of  
 Aubery's  
 Memoirs, T. I.  
 P. 374.

† By Letters  
 given at Mon-  
 ceaux, in the  
 Month of Au-  
 gust.

1 6 3 1. together, should receive him, † and he went to take the usual Oath, and to sit in the Parliament, attended by the Prince of Conde, by the Dukes of Montmorency, of Chevreuse, of Montbazon, of Retz, of Ventadour and of Crequi; by the Marshals, Vitry, Etrees, and Effiat, and by many other Persons of Quality. From that time he was call'd The Cardinal-Duke, as Olivarez, Chief Minister to the King of Spain, was stiled the Count-Duke. The King gave him besides the Government of Britany, lately vacant by the death of the Marshal de Themines. This Government could not fall to any one more advantageously than to the Cardinal, who being Superintendant both of Navigation and Trade, could scarce exercise his Office without being Master of the Ports of Britany. This was at the same time an assured Refuge, in case the King should ever change his Affection towards him. Thus, what was a Capital Crime in the Huguenots, who made a considerable part of the State, and what would have driven out of the Kingdom the most considerable Persons next to the King ( unless they had chosen rather to be confined to a Prison ) was esteem'd a just recompence for the great Services of Cardinal Richlieu. The Prince of Conde, who was sent from one Province to another, to pacifie the Spirits of those who might be surpris'd at the excessive greatness of a Minister, who caused him formerly to be put in Prison, went basely publishing his Praises all over the Kingdom, and yet was not able to get into the Favour of this Man, who could bear with nothing that gave him any Jealousie. \* He had made already, in the Year 1628, a Panegyrick upon this Minister before the States of Languedoc, with Expressions onely fit to come from a wretch that wanted Bread, and had no other ways to subsist: but this was nothing in comparison of what he said in the Assembly of the States of Britany. I shall relate his very words, that thereby the Reader may judge both of the mean Condescensions of the Prince, or of the Minister's great Authority.

\* See Aubery, Lib. 11. Cap. 17.

† See Aubery, Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 19. † " Amongst those infinite Obligations you have to the King ( saith he ) either for having preserved your Privileges, or for the great Advantages favourably granted to your Province of Britany, even almost

" to

" to an impossibility in regard of the other Provinces of  
 " his Realm, you have contracted a new one, which is  
 " the greatest of all; for His Majesty has given to you  
 " Monsieur the Cardinal of *Richlieu* for your Govern-  
 " nour, whose Learning and Piety prefer'd him in his  
 " younger years to a Bishoprick, his Deserts to a Cardinal's  
 " Cap, his Services and Capacity to the Ministry of  
 " State Affairs, his Valour to the Generallship of several  
 " Armies; his Fidelity and Love for the King's Person  
 " to the Cordial Affection of His Majesty; and as  
 " a Token thereof, and of his Trust to the High Places  
 " and Governments, which he possesseth and holds from  
 " him. All which things, though very considerable and  
 " great, yet we may say nevertheless of them, that they  
 " onely make up the least part of those recompences  
 " which he justly deserves; for having in his first Dignity  
 " confounded Heresie, in the second maintained the  
 " Church, in his Employments strengthened the State  
 " by his Counsels, by his Valour pull'd down and de-  
 " seated Rebellion, and extended the Limits of *France* in-  
 " to *Italy*, *Lorraine*, and *Germany*, and by his Fidelity,  
 " with a continual care, watched for the King's Preser-  
 " vation; under whose Command he hath always acted  
 " as a second Cause, in those great Affairs, which His  
 " Majesty had, and hath yet, to restore the Kingdom to  
 " its first Splendour. The Prince had better have said,  
 " *As a first cause*; since the King did nothing else but blind-  
 " ly follow the Motions of his Minister, and then he had  
 " said at least one true thing in his Speech, which was wor-  
 " thy of none but some Poor Hungry Priest, and not of a  
 " Prince who aspired formerly to the Crown. For indeed,  
 " What could the King have done more in favour of this  
 " Cardinal, but to Associate him to the Crown by a Pub-  
 " lick Declaration, or rather to yield it wholly to him, con-  
 " sidering he had received but the least part of that Recom-  
 " pence which he deserved? After this, there is no reason  
 " to wonder, that private persons flattered the Cardinal,  
 " since the Princes of the Blood offered him their Incense  
 " in so shameful a manner. Therefore from this time may we  
 " almost date the universal Extinction of that generous  
 " love for Truth, which formerly, if we may so express  
 " our selves, made Martyrs amongst the very Pagans. No-  
 " thing

6 3 1. thing having been fashionable in *France*, ever since the excessive Authority of the Cardinal, but fulsome extravagant Flatteries, and Stories made on purpose to advance ones Fortune at the Expence of Truth and Sincerity.

\* *Siri Mem.*

*Rec. T. 7.*

*P. 360.*

The same Prince \* whose Words I have related, was sent by the King into *Provence*, under pretence to assemble the States; but in effect to sound their Inclinations, to observe the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, whom the Cardinal hated, and to lessen the Authority of the Governour of that Province, both by the Dignity of his Person, and the Power he had received from the King. The Cardinal had caused the Marquis of *Saint Chamond* to be made Lieutenant for the King in *Provence*, with a Design to cross the Duke of *Guise* in any thing which he might undertake against the Authority of the Ministry. The Prince of *Conde* wrote to the Duke of *Guise*, to desire him to come to *Avignon*, and confer together concerning some Affairs relating to the Crown, not telling him what they were. The Duke being offended at this Proceeding, sent word back again, he could not go to wait upon the Prince beyond the Confines of *Provence*, and complained to the Cardinal of the haughty manner he had been dealt with. The King had been informed that he kept a secret Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and had Intentions to invite some of their Troops into *Provence*. Nay, it was reported, that the Duke of *Feria* had received Orders to send two thousand *Italians*, and five hundred *Spaniards* to *Barcelona*, to embark 'em there for *Provence*. Whether it was really so, that the Duke of *Guise* had invited a foreign Power to his Assistance against the Minister, or it was only an Artifice of his Enemies, to render him suspicious to the King, the Cardinal advised his Majesty to send an Order to the Duke of *Guise* to come to Court. He refused at first to obey, fearing, with reason, to be sent to the *Bastile*, or to *Bon de Vincennes*; and he obtained, at last, the King's Leave to make a Journey to our Lady of *Loretto*; from whence he retir'd to *Florence*, under the Protection of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

† *Siri ibid.*

*P. 444.*

This Prince became suspected to the Cardinal, † because it was thought that he sent Money secretly to the Queen-

Queen-Mother, and that he favoured the *Spaniards*. It 1631.  
was for this Reason that *Gondi*, who had been at *Florence*  
for some time about his own private Affairs, at his Re-  
turn to *France*, in the Month of *November*, received Or-  
ders immediately to be gone, and had much ado to ob-  
tain Permission to stay. Once as he had Audience of the  
Cardinal, this Minister gave him a long Narrative of the  
Discontents of the Queen-Mother, and of all that had  
pass'd between them ever since the Beginning. " He  
" assured him, that he had never given her any Occasion  
" to be angry with him, but that she had fallen into a  
" Passion upon Trifles; and that by suffering her self to  
" be too much influenced by some People who desired  
" nothing so much as to cause Disturbances at Court, in or-  
" der to cultivate their own particular Interest, she had  
" forsaken the King to embrace the Party of the youngest  
" of her Sons; that he (the Cardinal) was willing to  
" withdraw himself, to take away all occasion of Divi-  
" sion in the Royal Family; but that the King would  
" not permit him to do it, not believing himself to be safe  
" without him, and not thinking fit he should have so  
" much Condescension for those who had dealt with him  
" so unworthily: so that having been thus forc'd to re-  
" main at Court, he was willing, both as a Christian,  
" and as one that had infinite Obligations to Their Maje-  
" sties, to reconcile them together, that he might avoid  
" thereby the Necessity of serving the King against his  
" Mother; that not being conscious to himself of having  
" ever offended this Princess, he had desired of her, that  
" she would be pleas'd to tell him what Reasons she had  
" to complain of him, and even to suppose, if she would,  
" any Wrong, which he had never done her, to support  
" what she had said against him, because he would not  
" contradict her, and if condemned, he was ready to  
" make her any publick Satisfaction for it; but that she  
" answered nothing before the King, but only that she  
" would never be reconciled to him; that the Wrong  
" which she complained to have been done to her, was  
" that which she said the Cardinal had done both to the  
" King and State: That he had served her, during four-  
" teen Years, with all possible Fidelity and Zeal; but that  
" being fallen out with him, she would not hearken to  
" any



1631. "any Accommodation, and sought every day an Opportunity to have him murder'd; which obliged him to take care for the Preservation both of his Life and Fortune; and therefore he had not rejected the King's most gracious Offers made to him to change those Ministers who did not please him: That the Queen was never a Prisoner, and that to satisfy her that she was free, they had removed the Soldiers that were about her: That she was to be blamed for retiring into *Spain*, and that Animosities were now grown to such a degree, that the King could not be reconciled with safety.

This Discourse made *Gondi* believe the same thing, which several Persons had already suspected; viz. that the Cardinal knew that the Queen had a mind to retire, and therefore was glad to leave her the means to effect it, that so he might have an Occasion to accuse her of keeping an Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and to hinder the People from being offended at her Banishment. The Party of this Princels, which was linked with that of *Monsieur*, was extremely weak, as wanting both Friends and Money. The Severities used against their Followers kept back a great many others who would have otherwise joyned with them; nor could the Queen-Mother borrow any Money upon her Jewels, because People feared that the King would demand them again, as belonging to the Crown. The King on his side was so incensed against his Mother, that there was no likelihood he would trust her again, as well by reason of her Correspondence with the *Spaniards*, as because she had declared her self for the Duke of *Orleans*, who she believed would infallibly succeed to the Throne after the King's Death, which, according to the Predictions, was to happen very soon. To confirm the King in this ill Humour against his Mother, an exact Enquiry was made after those Persons whom the Queen had consulted to Calculate his Majesty's Nativity, and *Senel*, Physician to the King, and *Du Val*, were condemned to the Gallies, for having examined it, and made sinister Predictions against the Life of his Majesty.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who had always entertained a great Correspondence with the Duke of *Lorraine*, endeavoured to engage him into his Party; and this Prince raised some Troops, with an Intention either to take some

Advan-

Advantage of the present Disturbances, or to put himself in a Condition of Defence against the *Suedes*, who threatened to invade his Dominions. The Cardinal, who was no Friend to the *House of Lorrain*, and who feared it would support the Party of *Monsieur*, took this Occasion to cause a Declaration of War to be published against it. The King sent the Marshalls *La Force* and *Schomberg* into *Lorrain*, with an Army, and order'd them to take divers Places depending upon the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and of *Verdun*, which they said had been usurped by the Duke of *Lorrain*; but above all, to attack *Moyencourt*, which the Emperour had possessed himself of by the Counsel, Advice, and Assistance of this Prince.

Both the King and the Cardinal designed to go personally thither, but before they went, they resolved to see the Declarations against those that espoused the Party of the Queen-Mother, put in Execution. The Court feared that if they should remit it to the Parliament, this Execution would go but heavily on, because the Parliament acted only against their Wills, and the usual Formalities ought to be observed. Besides the Injustice of proceeding otherwise, it was dangerous too violently to countenance the Passions of the Minister against *Monsieur*, who because the King was then without Issue, was look'd upon as the next Heir to the Crown. So the Cardinal, who never loved the ancient Proceedings but when they were favourable to him, so managed matters, that the King resolved to constitute a Chamber of Justice to proceed with Rigour against those who favoured his Mother and Brother, and especially against such as had retired with them out of the Kingdom.

The Parliament refused to own the Declaration concerning the establishing of this new Chamber, unless the Members that should compose it were all taken out of their Body. The King sent to them thereupon a special Command, to oblige them to let fall this Opposition; and the Parliament were contented to ask that the *Substitute* and the *Register* of that Chamber should be taken out of their Company. But the Minister, being not willing that any one should be enabled either to clear or to delay the Condemnation of those whom he had a mind to destroy, engaged the King to establish, by his Letters Patent, this Chamber



1 6 3 1. Chamber in the Arsenal \*, and to admit none into it that were of the Parliament, but only two Counsellors of State, six Masters of the Requests, and as many Counsellors of the Grand Council. The King afterwards established another Chamber of Demesne, to follow the Court, and to put his Orders in execution.

\* The 23<sup>th</sup> of  
September  
1631.

In the mean time the Parliament seeing their Authority would fall at last to nothing, and that no body's Innocence would be secure from the excessive Power of the Minister, if once it was grown a Custom to act by extraordinary Proceedings; summon'd an Assembly of all the Chambers †, in which it was concluded, that a Remonstrance should be made to the King concerning extraordinary Commissions; and in the mean while a Prohibition directed to the Commissioners to act by vertue of these Commissions, and an Order should be sent to the Chevalier *Du Guet*, to put the Judgment of the Parliament in execution. They assembled themselves again on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of *December*, and publish'd a Decree pursuant to this Resolution. The King being informed of it, caused this Decree to be disannull'd by his Council the 16<sup>th</sup> of *December*, and commanded the Presidents *Belieuvre* and *Seguier*, who were present at this Deliberation, and the Counsellors who signed the Decree, and likewise the oldest Presidents of the second, third, fourth, and fifth Chambers of Inquests, with the most ancient Counsellors of each of these Chambers, to appear a Fortnight after, and attend the Court.

† The 28<sup>th</sup>  
of Novemb.

The King's Army had in the mean while seized all the Places in *Lorraine* to which he had any Pretensions, *Moyenvic* only excepted, which was invested in the name of the Bishop of *Metz*, the King being not willing to declare openly against the Emperour. This Place being ill provided, surrender'd on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *December*; and the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was not in a Condition to oppose the Royal Army, thought only how to put a stop to its Progress, and make the best Bargain he could. Therefore he came to *Metz*, where the King and the Cardinal were arrived, who received him very kindly in outward Appearance.

Though the Count of *Soissons* had reconciled himself to the Cardinal some time before, yet this Minister gave him

him no marks of his Confidence, till after the Countess of *Soissons* had propos'd the Marriage † of her Son with *Madam de Combalet*; which gave an Occasion to the Queen-Mother to tell the King that the Cardinal had a Mind to advance this Prince to the Crown. The King, to shew how little regard he had for the Advice of his Mother, and what an entire confidence he repos'd in the Cardinal, at his going into *Lorrain*, left the Count of *Soissons*, to be in his Absence, his Lieutenant General at *Paris*, and in the neighbouring Provinces.

To return now to the Affairs of *Italy*, upon which the Cardinal had likewise a watchful eye, the Duke of *Mantua* came to an Agreement with the Duke of *Guastalla*, by the Interposition of the Pope's Nuncio *Pancirolo*, and of the Embassadors of the Emperour and of the French King. The most difficult Treaty was that of *Querasque*, which was manag'd by *Matthias Galas* for the Emperour, and by the Marechal de *Thoiras* and *Servien* for the King of *France*. The Nuncio interpos'd as Mediator, and the Duke of *Savoy* was there present in person. After a long Negotiation, several Things were agreed upon; the chief of which I shall only relate.

The Duke of *Mantua* \* did agree with the Emperour and the Duke of *Savoy* upon these Conditions, whereby both *Spain* and *Savoy* were likewise reconciled to the French: I. That the Revenue of ten thousand Crowns which the Duke of *Savoy* was to have in *Montferrat*, together with the Town of *Trin*; should be reduced to fifteen thousand, each Crown to be valued at two and twenty Florins: II. That the Duke of *Savoy* should suffer ten thousand Sacks of Corn, and other Provisions to be yearly bought in *Piedmont* for the use of *Casal*, without paying any Duty or Imposition: III. That all the Goods they had possess'd themselves of on all sides, should be restor'd in the Condition they were in: IV. That the Duke of *Mantua* should be put in possession of the Dukedoms of *Mantua* and of *Montferrat*, immediately after the Conclusion of the Treaty; excepting what Places were to be resign'd to the Duke of *Savoy*, who should have possession of them as soon as the Emperour's Investiture for the Duke of *Mantua* was received: V. That the Baron *Galas* should begin to conduct back again, in good order, towards

1 6 3 1.

† Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Book 4.  
Cap. 23.

\* The 6th of  
April. See  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 7.  
Pag. 363.  
and the Hist.  
of the Ma-  
reschal de  
Thoiras,  
Lib. 3. Cap. 2.  
and seq.

163 I. wards *Germany*, the Imperial Troops, out of the States of *Mantua* and of *Montferrat*. VI. That the Troops which were in the Venetian Territories should return likewise. VII. That on the 8th of *April* they should begin to withdraw, and continue so to do, without delay and disorder, till the whole Army was retired, except the Garrisons of *Mantua*, of *Porto*, and of *Canetto*: VIII. That on the same day *Thoiras* and *Servien* should begin to cause the Troops of his Gallick Majesty to march out of *Italy*, through *Savoy*, without causing any Damage or Disturbance; but that they should leave Garrisons at *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*, the Ways however remaining free, without any quartering of Soldiers: IX. That on the same day the Duke of *Savoy* should evacuate *Montecalvo*, and the other Places which he possessed in *Montferrat*, except those which were assigned to him by this Treary; so that on the 20th of *April* all the Places taken by the Arms of the Emperour, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy* in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, the State of the *Venetians*, *Montferrat*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*, should be restored to their own respective Masters, except *Mantua*, *Porto*, *Canetto*, *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*; and on the 8th of *May*, at the farthest, the whole Imperial Army should be actually in *Germany*: X. That *Galas* should with all speed, by an Express, acquaint the Emperour with this Treary; which being received, his Imperial Majesty should give the Duke of *Mantua* the Investiture of the two Dukedoms of *Mantua*, and of *Montferrat*, with all Territories belonging to them, except those which were assigned to the Duke of *Savoy*, and those that might appertain to the Duke of *Guastalla*; and that this Investiture should be brought into *Italy* in a Fortnight after the Date of this Treaty: XI. That after this, they should begin to demolish the Fortifications for the space of fifteen days; and that in case it was not over by that time, the Places notwithstanding should be surrender'd: XII. That the Fortnight being expired on the 23d of *May*, the Baron *Galas* should draw off the Garrison of *Mantua*; and on the same Day the Mareschal de *Thoiras* should restore to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*: XIII. That at the same time the Baron *Galas* should

should retire with all his Troops, out of the States, Forts, and Passes, which he kept in the Country of the *Swissers*, and in the *Valtelline*; all which Places should remain in the free Disposol of the *Grisons* as before: XIV. That for a Security of the Restitution of the Places, Hostages should be given on both sides in the time of the Fortnight granted for demolishing; to wit, on the Emperour's part, the Colonels *Chiesa*, *Piccolomini*, and *Visleben*, and on the side of the French King, the Marquis of *Tabanes*, *Nereftan*, and *Aiguebone*; and that these Hostages should be consigned into the hands of his Holiness, who should promise to keep them safely, and oblige himself to restore them to that Party which had observed the Treary, and to deliver up to them those of the other side which had not kept it.

These are the principal Articles of the Treary of *Querasque*; for I don't mention those which are not material to this History. But besides this Treary which was publish'd, there was a secret Article, by which it was provided, that for a greater Security than that of the Hostages, the Cittadels of *Susa* and *Avigliana* should be put into the hands of the *Swissers*, equally Friends to the King of *France* and to the Duke of *Savoy*; and that they should take an Oath to restore them to the Duke of *Savoy* as soon as they were certain of the Evacuation of the Forts by the *Grisons*; but in case this Restitution should not be made at the prefixed time, they should put again these Places into the hands of the *Mareschal de Thoiras*, or of any other whom the King would be pleased to appoint.

There were yet two other Treaties for the Duke of *Savoy*, in one of which were \* specified the Lands which the Duke of *Savoy* was to possess in *Montferrat*; and the other † was concerning the Restitution of *Savoy*, and of the Places in *Piedmont*. Some Difficulties arose afterwards in the Execution of the general Treary, but were accommodated ‡ some time after; so that at last the Peace of *Italy* was concluded, and the Treary put in Execution in the Month of *September*; at least in outward appearance.

The *Swissers* \* entred the Places remitted to them, and the Pope received the Hostages, who were kept under a strong Guard in the Cittadel of *Ferrara*. The Emperour's

1631.

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\* See it in

Siri Mem.

Rec. T. 7.

Pag. 374.

† Signed the

30th of May.

Ibid. Pag.

383.

‡ The 19th of

June, Ibid.

Pag. 387.

\* Siri Mem.

Rec. T. 7.

Pag. 413.

1631. rour's Investiture for the Duke of *Nevers* was remitted to the Bishop of *Mantua*, and the Duke of *Guastalla* sent to the Emperour an Act, by which he desisted from the opposition he had made against it. The time specified in the last Treaty being at hand, *Savoy* and *Briqueras* were restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Passes of the *Valtelline* quitted by the *Imperialists*. All the State of *Mantua*, except *Porto* and *Canetto*, was surrendered to the Duke of *Mantua*, and the *French* withdrew from *Piedmont*, from *Montferrat*, and from *Savoy*, while the *Spaniards* left the State of *Venice*, of *Mantua*, and of *Montferrat*. On the 15th of *September* *Susa* and *Avigliana* were restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Porto* and *Canetto* to the Duke of *Mantua*. On the 23d the *Germans* departed out of *Mantua*, and the *French* out of *Pignerol*, at least it was thought so. After which the Pope released the Hostages.

All things were seemingly in a perfect Peace, when it appeared that on all sides they onely thought how to deceive one another. *Victor Amadeo* had a long while ago design'd to make his Peace with *France*, which had got already a considerable part of his State; and *Mazarine*, who was aware of it, gave him to understand, that if he desired to engage wholly this Crown in his Interest, and to remove all Suspicions on his part, he ought to give to His Majesty an assured Pledge of his Good Will, such as *Pignerol*, and that the King would not be wanting to Recompence him another way.

The Cardinal of *Richlieu* was so strongly of opinion, that this Place was necessary to the Crown, that he could not resolve to have it restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, whatsoever inconveniences might arise from the contrary. Most part of the *Italian* Princes confirmed him in these Sentiments, by the secret Sollicitations of their Ministers to that purpose. They were glad that *France* should have a Door open to enter *Italy*, when occasion should require, to have a Foreign Army to Counter-balance the excessive Power of the *Spaniards*. By complying thus with their desires, *France* would recover their Friendship, lost by the Peace of *Lions* ( in 1601. ) by which they quitted to the Duke of *Savoy* the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and consequently gave up the Passes of the *Alpes*; and the *French* King's Authority grew so much the greater, as  
the



the Power of the *Spaniards* was more lessen'd. Besides, the Cardinal could not leave behind him a more illustrious Monument of his good Conduct, than a place of this Importance, which was formerly' quitted by *Henry the III.* to the *Dukes of Savoy*.

The Difficulty was how to find a way to keep it; without breaking the Peace of *Italy*, but it could not be done against the Duke of *Savoy's* Consent. Therefore the Cardinal, who had already a great Esteem for *Mazarine*, and knew that he was likewise well-accepted by the Duke of *Savoy*, charged him with this Negotiation, which he perform'd to his Satisfaction. The Duke of *Savoy* having consented to leave *Pignerol* in the hands of *France*, they got him ( besides what was promised to him ) the Possession of *Canaves*, which was dismembred from *Montferrat*, by the Treaty of *Querasque*, to the prejudice of the Duke of *Mantua*.

Both the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists*, who knew nothing of the Negotiation concerning *Pignerol*, which was kept secret, were surpris'd, that *France* should spoil the Duke of *Mantua* their Ally, to serve the Duke of *Savoy*, who had taken Arms against them; but time discovered the Mystery. No noise was to be made about it, before *Mantua* was Restored; the Passages of the Country of the *Grisons* remitted to their Ancient Masters, and the Hostages released; for the *Spaniards* who had a visible Interest in keeping the *French* on the other side of the Mountains, would certainly have broken the Treaty, rather than permitted *Pignerol* to remain in their hands.

It was therefore necessary so to order Affairs, that if the *French* quitted the Place, in Compliance to the Treaty, they should be secure of returning into it again. The Duke of *Savoy* promised to do it after the Execution of the Treaty; and, for a Pledge of his Word, sent the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas*, his Brothers, into *France*, under pretence that they were to pass into *Flanders*. But the Cardinal feared, least this Prince, to whom this Place was, at least, as Important as it was to *France*, would not be as good as his Word, since the *Spaniards* would infallibly be ready to assist him, in this occasion, with all their Forces. Therefore they labour'd to find

1631. out some Stratagem or other to secure themselves of continuing still in the Possession of *Pignerol*, though at the same time they made a shew of quitting it, so that no body should perceive it: This difficult business was committed to the Marquess of *Villeroy*, who carried it on in such a manner, that he deceived not only the *Spaniards*, and the *Piedmontois*, but the *French* themselves.

He pick'd out Three hundred Men, whom he pretended to trust with a Secret Order he had lately received from the King, which was, to send them with all speed to the Citadel of *Casal*, and commanded them to send away their Baggage with the rest of the Garrison, who were disposing themselves to clear the Place at the time prefixt, being about Three thousand Men in number, and to take their way to *Dauphine*. In the mean time he caused them to hide themselves in several secret holes of the Castle, and particularly in an old Garret, where was a long time ago a Door Wall'd up, adjoining to the Dungeon. *Villeroy* caused this Garret to be divided by a Partition of Boards, and at one side Corn to be laid up; and, on the other side, where the Wall'd-door was, lay part of his Men. But because this would have met with very much difficulty in the Execution, if many *Piedmontois* had been in the Place; he caused a Report to be spread abroad, That the Plague was at *Pignerol*, and particularly in the Citadel; which put a stop to the curiosity of the People from flocking thither, and also to the speedy Levies which the Duke of *Savoy* intended to make there for the Garrison. The Count of *Verrue*, sent by the Duke to Receive the Place, was acquainted with the Secret, but the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Commissioners had not the least suspicion of it. As soon as they were arriv'd, they saw the *French* Troops go out in a File towards *Dauphine*, and *Villeroy* took care himself to Conduct them to all the Magazines, affecting in this an extraordinary Punctuality, to fire them, and get time, which succeeded so much the easier, because the Commissioners were unwilling to enter any place that had not been before purifi'd with Fire and Sweet Odours, for fear of catching the Plague. Being entred the Citadel, where the Three hundred Souldiers were hid, the Marquess deliver'd up the Gate to the Count of *Verrue*, who



who committed it to Fifty or Threelcore Souldiers, under the Command of an Officer; after which he drew the Garrison out, and led the Commissioners to every part of it. The Count had with him a Colonel of the Duke of Savoy, named *Porporati*, who knowing nothing of the Secret, looked into every Corner with a great deal of Care; so that *Villeroy*, fearing least he should discover the place where most part of his Men were hid, gave a Jog to the Count, and turning himself to the Commissioners, told them, That it being already pretty late, they would do well to send some body to visit the Fort of *St. Bridget*, and this Commission was given to *Porporati*.

The Cardinal was so entirely resolv'd not to abandon the Cittadel of *Pignerol*, that *Villeroy* had Orders to Imprison the Commissioners, in case they should discover the Cheat; and, for this effect, he had along with him Ten or Twelve of the most strong and resolute Fellows, to put his Orders in Execution at the first sign.

This Resolution which could not be put in execution, without a Scandalous Violation of the Treaty of *Quevasque*, and even of the Law of Nations, sufficiently shewed how willing the Cardinal was to keep this Place. By good hap the Commissioners were not aware of the Cheat, and *Villeroy* got the very same day an Attestation from them, by which they acknowledg'd, That *Pignerol* was faithfully deliver'd again into the hands of the *Savoyards*. He sent it Post to *Ferrara* to have the Hostages released.

Not above four or five Persons were in the Cittadel to look after the Magazines, and the *Piedmontois*, who were at the Gate, had an Order to let no body in, except one Page of the Count of *Verrue*, to entertain them in the opinion that there was no body in the Cittadel: This business lasted Two and thirty days, during which the hidden Souldiers did not want Provisions, for they were abundantly provided before.

Now it was necessary to draw these Souldiers out of their holes, and to persuade the World, That they were got in again in spite of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Therefore they onely look'd for a Pretence, which would not have been so easie a thing to find, if the Duke

1631. of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, had been more quick in executing the Treaty of *Querasque*, who, fearing least the *French* would not answer his honest and fair Dealing, retained Two *German* Regiments in the State of *Milan*, and some *Neapolitan* Cavalry, whom he had Promised to dismiss. The *French* being informed of it, begun immediately to complain highly of it, and to say, That Count *Merode* threatned again to invade the Passes of the *Valtelline*.

The Great Sums of Money which *Spain* was accused to furnish the Queen-Mother with, did not help a little to heighten these Complaints, and they were carried to the Duke of *Feria* by Cardinal *Mazarine*, in very high words, purposely to exasperate the *Spaniards* to some Infraction or other, which might give occasion to the *French* to say, That they were constrained by the Duke's Contraventions, to Possess themselves again of *Pignerol*.

On his side *Feria* begun likewise to complain of the *French*, because the Garrisons of *Mantua* and of *Casal* were full of Souldiers of their Nation, and the *Grisons* Fortified the Passage of *Steich*, against the Treaty of *Monzon*. He Publish'd a Writing, in which he expos'd at length the Infractions which he thought the *French* had made against that of *Querasque*, and said, That they might be followed with greater Inconveniencies. The Ministers of *France* who sought after a Quatrel, took up these words, as if the Duke of *Feria* had meant, That as soon as the *French* Troops were gone out of *Italy*, he would Revenge himself of those Infractions he imputed to them. Furthermore, they had notice, that the Emperour, at the Instance of *Spain*, had declared void the Investiture sent to the Duke of *Mantua*, unless the Treaty of *Ratisbon* should be exactly observed; and thereupon the *French* gave out, That the *Spaniards* had a Design to Invade a-new the States of the Duke of *Mantua*.

Upon this they dispensed a Manifesto, with the Consent of the Duke of *Savoy*, though they complained of him in publick, in which, after great Complaints against the Unfair Dealings of the *Spaniards* and their Allies, and especially of the Duke of *Savoy*, to carry on their Trick  
more

more secretly, they declared, that the King was resolved to secure the Peace of *Italy*, and to protect his Allies there. For this purpose, *Servien* ask'd the Duke of *Savoy*, to deliver back several Places in *Piedmont*; and, amongst others, *Pignerol*, for the Reception of the *French* Army which was to pass thither again. The Ministers of *France* protested before God and Men, that it was not out of any Ambitious Motive, or to disturb the Peace of *Italy*, that the King their Master demanded these Places; but on the contrary, to make it more firm, and to give the Allies that Peace, which they desired so earnestly to enjoy.

The Duke of *Savoy* so carried himself, as if he thought this Demand very strange, and told *Servien* the Reasons he had to deny it; but *Servien* replied, That if he would not grant, of his own free accord, what the King desired, the Army which was in *Dauphine*; and in *Provence*, should repass the Mountains by force, for the Security of his Allies. He allowed the Duke Three Days to consider of it, after which he threatned him, in case of Denial, with the Invasion both of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*. In the mean while this Prince sent to acquaint the Duke of *Feria* with the Pretensions of the *French*, and to Ask Succours of him to oppose this Intended Invasion. The Governour of *Milan* offered him all the Assistance which was in his Power. When they came to the Particulars, this Prince Ask'd for the Defence of *Savoy* Ten thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse, and half that number for *Piedmont*, besides his own Troops. He thought this would suffice for the present, since Winter was so near. He desired also that *Spain* should immediately Pay him off all the Arrears due to him, which His Catholick Majesty had Promised him, after which, they might at leisure Discourse of what was Necessary to be done for the future. The Duke of *Savoy* knew that it was impossible for the Governour of *Milan* to satisfy his Demands, and he made them on purpose, that they should not think it strange if he delivered *Pignerol* to the *French*, seeing they were not in a condition to Protect him against them. The Governour of *Milan* Answered, That he would immediately supply him with what Help he could, and that as soon as the New

631. Levies were made in the State of *Milan*, he would send them with all speed to him. In the mean while the *Spaniards* offered to enter into Negotiation with the *French* upon this matter, but *Servien* would not hearken to it before the Duke of *Savoy* had Answered his Demands.

\* The 19th of October.

Lastly, To deceive the *Spaniards* effectually, the Duke Assembled \* his Council, in which it was Concluded, That since he could not hope to receive from them the Succours he wanted, to defend himself against the *French*, it was better to come to an Agreement, and, of two Evils, to choose the least. The Duchess of *Savoy* feigned likewise to interpose, with her Brother for the Moderation of the Demands which *Servien* had made. They agreed afterwards upon these Articles; That the Duke of *Savoy* should neither directly nor indirectly help those who would endeavour to cause any Disturbance in *France* during the Absence of the Queen-Mother, and of the Duke of *Orleans*: That he should grant free Passage to the *French* Troops, in case there should be a necessity to send them again into *Montserrat*, or the Peace came to be disturbed on the side of the *Grisons*, or of *Mantua*: That to give a Pledge to the *French* King that he would keep his Word, he should deposite the Town and Citadel of *Pignerol*, with the Three Forts of *Perrusa*, in the hands of the *Swisses*, who were intrusted before with *Susa*: That the same *Swisses* should take an Oath, That they would faithfully keep these Three Places during Six Months; at the end of which they should restore them to the Duke of *Savoy*; unless the Prince should think fit, in case the same Conjunctions happened, to have their Trust further prolonged: Nevertheless, that His Majesty might put a Governour into the Place, who should take the same Oath. Afterwards, with the consent of the Duke, a *French* Garrison was exchange'd with that of the *Swisses*, and the Three hundred Souldiers came out of the places where they had hid themselves.

The Duke of *Savoy* gave notice to Duke *Feria* of the Articles he had Agreed upon with the *French*. The Governour of *Milan* durst not disapprove wholly the Duke of *Savoy's* Conduct, though he thought it would be



be highly prejudicial to *Italy*. Thus the *French* appeared to re-enter into the Possession of *Pignerol*, which they had not quitted; and they afterwards engag'd the Duke of *Savoy* to yield it up wholly to them, the *Spaniards* not perceiving (at first) the Trick which was put upon them. As the *Spanish* Ministers in *Italy* were blamed for their want of Conduct, so it was thought very strange, that the Duke of *Savoy*, for some Lands in *Montferrat*, which *France* caused to be given him, by the Treaty of *Querasque*, should voluntarily tie up his own hands by parting with *Pignerol*.

The Duke of *Mantua* was reduc'd by this War to such Extremities, that he depended wholly upon *France*, and durst not contradict them in the least. So that at the same time, that the *French* were busie to secure *Pignerol* for themselves, he was oblig'd to permit them to send a strong Garrison to the Citadel of *Casals*, for fear the *Spaniards*, seeing the *French* in *Pignerol*, should endeavour to make themselves Masters of it. This business was likewise carried on with so much secrecy, that they knew nothing of it in *Italy*, till after Two *French* Regiments had got into *Casals*. As soon as the *Italian* Princes, who were jealous of the Power of *Spain*, knew that the *French* were in Possession of these two Places, notwithstanding the Treaty of *Querasque*, they shewed in all parts how well they were pleased with it, and especially the *Venetians*, who were not in favour with the House of *Austria*, and feared its Resentments. The onely thing which remained for *France* to do, for the perfect security of that Republick on that side, was to seize on the Passes of the *Valtelline*, and indeed they made it their business to effect it soon after.

Towards the end of the same year, the \* Duke of *Savoy* reconciled himself wholly with the Republick of *Genova*; by Restoring reciprocally what was taken from one side and the other during the Truce. *Zuccarello*, which was the occasion, or the pretence of the War, as I observed in another place, remained to the *Genouese*, upon condition that they should give One hundred and three-score Crowns of Gold to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was to renounce all his Pretensions to this Marquisate.

1631.

\* The 27th of Novemb. 1631.  
See Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. P. 416

1632. The King being at Metz, the Duke of Lorraine came there, and after some Negotiations he concluded his Treaty with France, \* which was Sign'd at Vis on the 6th of January.

\* See Aubrey's Life of the Card. Lib.  
4. Cap. 23.

The Duke Promised to disengage himself from any Intelligence, League and Association, which he had made with any Prince or State whatsoever, to the Prejudice of the King, his Dominions, and Countries under his Obedience, or Protection; and to the Detriment of the Alliance made by His Majesty with the King of Sweden, and the Duke of Bavaria, for the Defence of the German-Liberty, and of the Catholick-League. He oblig'd himself likewise, to turn out of his Dominions all the King's Enemies, and all his Subjects, who had left the Kingdom without his Leave, and to deny them for the future any Passage or Retreat.

A little while after, the Deputies of the Parliament of Paris came to Metz, where the King was. † After they had stay'd there a Fortnight, he gave them Audience, and told them, That for this time he forgave them, but they ought to take care least they fell into the same Faults again, for a Relapse would prove fatal to them: That he loved his People better than they did; that he took more care for the Glory and Greatness of the State, and would maintain it better than they: That he forbid them to busie themselves about any thing else but the Administration of Justice. They Answered, They had been brought up in a very good School, where they had learned Obedience and Fidelity to His Majesty; and the King Reply'd, They had then soon forgot what they were Taught. The Keeper of the Seals made them afterwards a long Remonstrance, in which he Reproached them that they design'd to divide the Royal Authority with the King. He told them nevertheless that His Majesty sent them back to the Exercise of their Offices, except Five who were Suspended from their Places, and ordered to follow the Court, to serve for an Example. Nevertheless as soon as the King was returned to St. Germain, they were restor'd to their Employments.

† Siri Mem.  
Rec. Tom. 7.  
Pag. 359.

Monseigneur,

Monſieur, who was then at *Nancy*, was oblig'd to withdraw, and to retire to the Low-Countries; and the French Army advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Germany*; as if they would have favour'd *Gustavus Adolphus*; though at the bottom, *France* began to grow jealous of his Victories, and to fear least the Emperour and the Catholick League should wholly sink under the power of his Arms.

\* The King of *Sweden* desired extreamly to have a Conference with *Lewis XIII.* being us'd to manage his Negotiations himself; and the King of *France* shew'd on his side a great Inclination to see *Gustavus*, for fear of offending him. But this Prince had quite other things in his Thoughts, and durst not expose himself to an Interview, which had turned wholly to the Honour of the King of *Sweden*, to whom he was not to be compar'd for the Qualities either of Body or Mind.

So a little time after, the King of *Sweden* was acquainted that the French King being indisposed, was not in a condition to come to an Interview; therefore it was propos'd to him, that he would be pleas'd to meet Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was more fit to treat with *Gustavus* than *Lewis XIII.* who referr'd every thing to his Minister. *Gustavus*, who was of a hasty Temper, answered, he would send one of his Servants to confer with the Cardinal; that he esteem'd himself not inferiour to the French King, and did not understand why he should decline to meet him; that the *Swedish* Kings never truckled to those of *France*; and that all Crowns were equal.

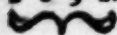
These Expressions of *Gustavus*, besides that he was suspected of aspiring to no less than an Universal Monarchy, cooled very much the Design which the French had to assist him, and hinder'd the King, at that time, from declaring openly against the House of *Austria*. Besides, the Cardinal had some particular Reasons which kept him back from engaging himself in great Enterprizes, in which *France* might perhaps not always get the better. The extreme Aversion of the Queen-Mother, and of Monsieur towards him; the hatred even of almost the whole Kingdom, not to mention the Foreign Powers whom he had mightily offended, and the little Certainty he had that the King, upon whose Affection his Fortune was built, would live long; all this made him very often think of his own Securiy,

1632

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
Pag. 475.



632. curity, in case any sinister Accident should befall him.



To shelter himself against all Misfortunes, he design'd at this time to marry his Niece *Combales* with the Count of *Soissons*, to whom he made very advantageous Offers. He pretended to put him in a Condition not only of being able to be a Support to the Relations of his Lady, but also almost of giving Laws to the King himself. The Count consented to it, but was desirous that the King should declare in Writing, that he promoted this Marriage as being advantageous both for his Service and the Good of the State; and that for this Reason he commanded him to marry the Cardinal's Niece. The Minister, whom the King humoured in all things, thought he might easily obtain this Favour, and demanded it, though without the return of any positive Answer. He continued then to treat of this Business himself, and had his Propositions carried to the Count of *Soissons* by his Creatures; but at last he perceived that this Marriage displeased the King, because he had very good reason to believe that it would make the Count of *Soissons* too powerful; that the Prince of *Conde*, who was an Enemy to the Count, would join with the Disaffected; and that consequently the King would find himself alone with the Count, and draw upon him all the Enemies of the Cardinal.

This Prelate coming to understand the Sentiments of his Majesty upon this Affair, shewed an entire Submission to his Will, and gave out that his Niece was going to retire into a Nunery, though nothing was so far from her Thoughts. It was secretly whisper'd to the King, that this Marriage would render the Count of *Soissons* too great, and that it would utterly disoblige the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, whom, neither in Conscience, nor even in good Politicks, he could always keep out of the Kingdom. In the mean while the Cardinal, who was used to Refusals, feared lest the King's Affection towards him should change, and he was observed to be very sad for some days.

The Prince of *Conde*, weary of publishing his Praises without any Advantage to himself, and angry at the Marriage which was proposed, instead of going to assemble the Estates of *Burgundy*, retired to *Bruges*. In order to hinder him from having any Communication with the Go-  
vernours

vernours of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, it was thought necessary to cause some Forces to advance to the River *Loire* to guard the Passes. But there was no Necessity for this Precaution, as a little time made it appear.

The Duke \* of *Lorraine* offered his Mediation to reconcile the King with Monsieur, and received this Answer, that if that Prince would return into *France*, a general Pardon should be granted to all those who had followed his Party; and that they should be re-establish'd in their Estates and Dignities, except only in the Governments which they possessed before. But these, who far from being willing to come and surrender themselves to the Cardinal, intended not to go home, unless they could be considerable Gainers by the Bargain, perswaded Monsieur to reject these Offers; and the D. of *Lorraine* who saw very well that their Return upon these Conditions would only encrease the Authority of the Cardinal, a professed Enemy to his House, was the first who advised Monsieur to recover his Right by force of Arms, and begun himself to make new Levies again, for fear of being surprised as he was before; and soon after, Monsieur, who was retired to *Flanders*, returned into *Lorraine* with some Forces, which he joyned with those of the Duke.

Both the King and the Cardinal were gone into *Picardy* to oppose the Enterprises of the disaffected Persons, who kept private Correspondences there. The Governour of *Calais*, one of those who declared for Monsieur, was reduced to his Duty by the King's Arrival, who returned afterwards to *Saint Germain*. The Cardinal in this Journey was seized with a small Fit of an Ague, which detained him two days at *Corbie*, though it never hinder'd him from taking care of the Publick Affairs, and soon after he follow'd the King. As soon as his Majesty received the News of Monsieur's Return into *Lorraine*, he sent the Marechal d' *Effiat* thither to Command the Army with Marechal *La Force*, and gave him Orders to enter again into the Duke of *Lorraine's* Territories, and to oppose the March of Monsieur, in case they could not oblige the Duke of *Lorraine* by way of Negotiations; to observe the Treaty of *W.*

All the Promises and Threatnings made use of to win that Prince, were ineffectual, till he saw an Army, and the

\* Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 4.  
Cap. 24.

1 6 3 2. the King present in Person. They took \* immediately Pont a Mousson, and entirely defeated a Regiment of Lorrain Horse, which they surprised.

\* In the Month of June, Aub. ibid. Cap. 25.

The Duke not being in a condition to make farther Resistance, was glad to come to an Accommodation, and the Treaty was concluded on the 26th of June by his Deputies and Cardinal Richlieu, who was desirous to return into France with all speed, to oppose and frustrate Monsieur's Designs. The Duke of Lorraine engag'd himself to deliver up the Towns of Stenay, Tarnets, and Clermont, to the King, and even to sell him the latter, to which the Crown of France had some Pretensions.

While the Cardinal was in Lorraine and in Picardy, he took care that an end should be made of the Tryal of the Marechal de Marillac, † who having been arrested in Piedmont, as we said before, was brought Prisoner to the Castle of Saint Meneboud, and from thence to the Cittadel of Verdun, as soon as Biscars had surrender'd it. Afterwards, according to the Cardinal's custom, the King appointed a Chamber of Justice at Verdun to judge of this Affair. It was composed of four Masters of Requests, of two Presidents, and twelve Counsellors of the Parliament of Burgundy, and their Commission was dispatch'd on the 13th of May 1631. The Marechal de Marillac was accused of embezzling the King's Treasury; and some Witnesses who were brought against him since his Detention, accus'd him of having converted to his own use part of the Moneys which the King had sent him to fortifie Verdun. He was examined before the Court, and the Witnesses confronted him, with several other Proceedings at his Sollicitation, and at the Instance of the King's Attorney; but at last they agreed in a Decree, whereby he was allowed to make his Defence. The Cardinal, who was in good hopes that the Court would have sentenced him to death, caused the Commission to be recalled, and the Judges to be discharged. The Marechal was some time after removed from Verdun to the Castle of Pontoise, and from thence to the Village of Ruel. The King established there a Chamber of Justice by another Commission of the 11th of March 1632. They were in part the same Judges, and some others who were put in the room of those that were rejected, and they were four and twenty in number, The

† A true Relation of the Trial of Marechal Marillac in the Journal of Richlieu, Tom. 2. Pag. 1. and Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. P. 495. and foll.

The Mareſchal excepted againſt the whole Chamber in general, and againſt ſeveral Judges in particular, for very ſtrong Reaſons; but the Council judged his Proteſtation void, and for all his Endeavours he could except but againſt one. In order to oblige the Judges to condemn him to death, the King's Attorney cited a Statute which condemned thoſe who were found guilty of defrauding the Publick Treafury, to have both *their Eſtates and Bodies conſiſcated*: but the reſt maintained, that in this caſe, thoſe Expreſſions imported no more than the Forfeiture of their Eſtates, and Imprisonment. Finally, \* the Chamber, without any Examination of moſt part of the Heads of Accuſation which were produced againſt him, came to paſs Sentence. Ten of his Judges voted for Life, and thirteen for Death: ſo that according to the form of Criminal Judgments, he was condemned but by one Vote. Moſt part of them were excepted againſt, for very weighty Reaſons; as particularly, for publick and long profeſſed Enmity. Whereas in Criminal Matters, it is uſual to gather the Votes three times one after another, to give them time in caſe they ſhould happen to change Opinion, hardly were they once collected, but their *Chateaneuf*, Preſident of the Chamber, pronounced the Sentence of Death, and ſent to give notice of it to the King.

No ſooner were the Mareſchal's Relations informed that Sentence had paſſed upon him, but they went Poſt to *Saint Germain*, to beg his Life of the King. They thought they muſt addreſs themſelves firſt to the Cardinal, to try if he would not have the Generoſity to intercede for him after he had ſollicitated his Condemnation. Having made their Complements to him, the Cardinal, as if he had been wholly ſurprized at it, aſſured them that they told him of a thing which he knew nothing of; that he was heartily ſorry that the Mareſchal de *Marillac* had brought himſelf to that condition by his own Fault; to which he added, *See the King, he is merciful*. The Relations of the Mareſchal having aſk'd him again, if he would not do them the Favour to ſpeak of it to the King, and to intercede for him, the Cardinal reply'd, *I told ye that ye ſhould ſee the King*. When they threw themſelves at his Maſteſty's feet, and ſollicitated for his Pardon,



1 6 3 2. Pardon, the King answered he would consider of it, and order'd them to withdraw. They immediately retired, and went again the next day to wait upon the Cardinal, and were scarcely got into the Anti-Chamber, when the Prelate going by, while they were bowing to him, asked them, *Well Gentlemen, have you seen the King?* one of them reported to him the King's Answer; to which the Cardinal replied, *I would advise you to obey the King.* Upon this another began to supplicate him, that he would be pleased to intercede for them, during their Absence, with the King: but the Minister, not being able to contain his Passion any longer, returned them this bitter and sharp Answer; *I did advise you to withdraw, since the King charged you to do so: but now I command you, in the King's name, to depart.* This Answer made them understand that the Death of the Marechal was fully resolved upon, and he was accordingly executed at the Greve the 10th of March, protesting his Innocence. 'Twas not usual in France to punish Publick Embezzling with Death: and indeed, this was not the Crime for which he was brought to the Scaffold.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 7.*  
*Page 499.*

He had the Boldness \* to advise the Queen-Mother at *Lions*, when the King was sick, to have the Cardinal apprehended in case his Majesty had dy'd. Which Crime, this good Prelate could never forgive him. As for his Brother, the Keeper of the Seals, he was conducted to *Pontoise*, where he dyed soon after: And so the Cardinal saw himself deliver'd from two Enemies, whom he might have feared if they had been alive.

They say that the Cardinal went himself to solicit all the Judges, one after another, the day before they condemn'd the Marechal to die: and yet 'tis also reported, that when they went to visit him, in hopes of receiving Thanks for it, the Cardinal told them, in a jeering way, "I must confess that God does inspire Judges after another manner than he does the other Men, since they could find sufficient Matter to condemn Marechal *Marillac*. It was however publish'd after his Death, that the Queen-Mother had corrupted him to favour the *Spaniards* in *Italy* and in *Germany*; but that no mention was made of it at his Tryal in respect to her.

For



For a total humiliation of the Grandees of the Kingdom, the Cardinal not being satisfi'd with having oblig'd the Duke of *Guise* to leave *France*, caus'd his Government of *Provence* to be given to the Marechal de *Vitry*, and appropriated to himself his Office of Admiral of the *Levant* Seas. It was pretended, that the *Spaniards* had a Design to make a Descent into the Islands of *Hieret*, and to Fortifie themselves there, at the Instigation of the Duke of *Guise*. This Prince made all his endeavours to justify himself, and to obtain the permission to return into *France*; but as he desired some security, he had for an Answer, That nothing but his Innocence would be a safety to him; so that he durst not expose himself to the King's Justice, who look'd upon all such to be guilty who had the misfortune to displease the Cardinal.

During the same time, the *French* endeavour'd to maintain themselves in the Possession of *Pignerol*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who saw that he could not refuse them the Place, was onely thinking how to make the best Bargain that he could for it. He made use in this occasion of the Ministry of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who went to *Paris*, under a pretence to Treat with the King in the Pope's Name, about the Extirpation of Heresie in the City of *Geneva*, and of the Agreement of the Duke of *Savoy* with the Republick of *Genova*, which was not yet Ratified by *France*. He offer'd to the King to quit *Pignerol* wholly to him, if he would take the City of *Geneva*, and put him in Possession of it. *Mazarine* countenanced this Demand in the Pope's Name; but because *Geneva* had been a long time under the King's Protection, and in an Alliance with the *Swisses*, besides, that it was not the Interest of the Crown, that this Place should fall into the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, it was entirely deny'd, and he was oblig'd to content himself with a Sum of Money, which the King Promis'd to pay for him to the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom he owed the same by an Article of the Treaty of *Querasque*: Thus *Pignerol*, which from the Month of *October*, 1631, was onely deposited in the hands of the *French*, was quitted to them by a Treaty Signed the 5th of *May*, 1632.

To

1. 6 3 2.

\* *Siri Mem.**Rec. T. 7.**Page. 551.**Anbery.**Lib. 4. cap. 27.*† *The 8th of**June, Siri**Mém. Rec.**Tom. 7. p. 551**Anbery, Lib.**4. cap. 27.*

To return to the Duke of Orleans, \* who was the most dangerous Enemy the Cardinal had, as soon as it was known that he intended to enter into France, with some Troops that he had gathered from several parts; the Cardinal signifi'd to the Spaniards, That if they gave Assistance to Monsieur in any thing, it would be taken for an Infraction of the Peace of *Vervins*. Nevertheless least they should take this business in hand, not caring to break openly, the Cardinal Promised to the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, what they Ask'd of him, upon condition that they should make neither Peace nor Truce with *Spain*, to keep them employ'd on that side. Monsieur † entred into France by the way of *Bassigny*, with two Thousand, or Fifteen hundred Horse, and fell upon *Burgundy*. He Published at the same time a Declaration, wherein he call'd the Cardinal a Tyrant, an Usurper, an Enemy to the King and to the Royal Family; saying, He had taken up Arms for no other intent but to open the eyes of His Majesty, and to shew him plainly how his Minister deceiy'd him. Monsieur took upon himself the Title of *Lieutenant-General for the King*, to Redress the Abuses, and to Repress the Violences of the Cardinal. He pass'd with his Troops hard by *Dijon*, which Place having refused to Furnish his Army with Provisions, saw, for this Reason, one of their Suburbs reduc'd into Ashes. From thence he pass'd to *Amberg*, where he Raised Three thousand Foot, not making there any Devastation, because *Noailles*, Lieutenant for the King in that Province, was there in Person.

\* *The 11th of*  
*August.*† See it in  
*Anbery, Ubi*  
*supra.*

In the mean while the King thought it convenient to go to *Paris*, in order to be Present at the Parliament, and make them Confirm his Declaration against the Male-contents. \* He went thither with the Cardinal, and the Keeper of the Seals made an Apology for this Minister, which he concluded with saying, That Seditious Men never ceased to Discredit those Persons that were concerned in the Government. Afterwards a Declaration † of the King was Registred, wherein His Majesty gave a Compendious Account of what the Duke of Orleans had done, tending to the Destruction of the State. *Although by his Libel of the 13th of June,*

(as

(as 'twas said in the Declaration) *he Declares, That what he did was for the safety and welfare of France; which he represented in a Deplorable Condition, in Terms extremely prejudicial to the honour of his Majesty, laying the fault of all upon the Cardinal Richlieu; though it might be justly said, that the Kingdom was never so powerful nor in so great reputation before, and that the Cardinal's Fidelity and Zeal and the Merits of his Services were so well known to all the World, that none but those who were envious both of the Glory of his Majesty and of his Prosperity, would offer to say any thing to the contrary.* Lastly, the King declared afresh, those who should joyn with Monsieur, or abett him in any manner whatsoever, Rebels, and guilty of High Treason; and commanded they should be proceeded against with all the Severity of the Laws. As for the Duke of Orleans himself, he gave him six Weeks time to return to his Allegiance.

In the mean while an Army was sent against Monsieur, in two Bodies; one of which was commanded by the Marechal de la Force, and the other by Marechal Schomberg. They advanced two different ways, to endeavour to get between them the Troops of Monsieur, who were not in a condition to make any great resistance. \* Though they had obeyed the King, yet it was with very much reluctance that they accepted the Command upon this Occasion; and especially the Marechal de la Force did what lay in his power to be excused. It seemed to him, that it was too great a Boldness in a Subject to go and attack the King's only Brother, and presumptive Heir to the Crown, his Majesty being not present. It might happen that in the heat of Battel the Duke of Orleans might be kill'd, and the Fault then would be laid on the Marechal, which would be enough to ruin him under another Administration. And therefore that he might act with greater Safety, he desired that the King would give him precise Orders what he was to do; and the King declared that as to his Brother's Person, he would not have him come by any harm, and that they ought to treat him with respect. Upon this the Marechal observed that in a Fight it would not be possible perhaps to distinguish him; and since this Inconvenience could not well be avoided, and would cause the Armies to act but

D

weakly

• *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 7.*  
*Pag. 553.*

1 6 3 2. weakly against Monsieur in the King's Absence, his Majesty resolved at last to go personally with them.

Monsieur found none of the Provinces in his March disposed to declare for him, because the Governour who knew his Temper, knew likewise that he had neither Conduct, nor Experience, nor Constancy enough to protect those that should declare for him. Only the Duke of *Montmorency* promised to favour him, to revenge the Wrong which he thought the Cardinal had done him. He had formerly surrender'd his Office of Admiral, at his Solicitation, who instead of suppressing it, as he had pretended before, appropriated it to himself, under another Title. 'Twas said that he gave the Duke of *Montmorency* great hope of having the Office of High Constable, which was more considerable, and had been possessed by his Father and Grandfather; but he caused both the Title and the Donations of that great Post to be abolish'd, so that the Duke having ask'd for the Office of *Maréchal General of the King's Armies*, which was the same Thing under another Name, he met with an absolute Denial. Yet notwithstanding these and other Occasions of Dissatisfaction, he still remained in the Interests of the Cardinal till the time of the King's Sickness at *Lions*. But whether he grew weary to live under the Authority of a Minister who would not have Friends but Slaves; or that *Marie Felice des Ursins*, his Lady, who was related to the Queen-Mother, had drawn him to the Party of this Princess, he engaged his Word to Monsieur, since this Prince's Departure from Court.

At first he looked for some Pretence or other to make Levies, without giving suspicion to the Court; but at last having \* declared himself, he brought things to that pass, that the States of *Languedoc*, by their Deliberation on the 22d of *July*, called in the Duke of *Orleans* to protect them, promising him Money for his Troops, and protesting they would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. † The Duke of *Montmorency* was to have six thousand Men and a Supply of Money from *Spain*; but the Sum which he received from them did not amount to above fifty thousand Crowns, and it was late enough before it was remitted to him. As for their Succours of Men, they came not at all. So that when  
Monsieur

\* *Pentis Mem.*  
T. 2. P. 34.

† *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 552.



Monſieur entered into *Languedoc*, he was not in a condition to oppoſe the King's Forces. Nevertheless there was a neceſſity to receive him, and he entered into *Limel* on the 13th of *July*, after having ſecured ſome few Places to himſelf. He had a conſiderable ſum of Money at his Palace in *Paris*, which he expected to receive in a ſhort time; but the Court having had notice of his Deſigns, ſtopped it, ſo that Monſieur's Party was in a manner deſtitute of every thing; and when the King began his March, to go and joyn Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who followed the Duke of *Orleans*, he was not in a condition to make a long reſiſtance, if the Royal Armies had been once joyned together. Monſieur had then Two thouſand Foot, and Three thouſand Horſe, with abundance of Voluntiers, and Three Pieces of Canon. And Mareſchal *Schomberg* had not yet above a Thouſand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horſe, without Artillery. The Mareſchal being advanced near to *Caſtelnaudary*, drew up his Troops in Battel on the Firſt of *September*, the Enemy being not far from him. Whether the Duke of *Montmorency* was deſirous to open the Campaign with ſome Action that might give reputation to his Party, or whether he judged it expedient to fight the Royal Army, while they were inferiour to him in number; he took upon himſelf the Command of the Van of the Army, and Monſieur that of the Main Body. \* Having put himſelf at the head of the Counts of *Moret*, of *Rieux*, and of *Fenillade*, he reſolved to go and ſupport the firſt Files, who were ordered to poſſeſs themſelves of an Advantageous Poſt.

The Count *de Moret* was the firſt who fell upon the King's Horſe, and put them into diſorder; and *Montmorency* perceiving it, pour'd in full ſpeed with very few Men, and forgetting to diſcharge the part of a General, he expoſed himſelf to all the dangers of a Private Souldier, and fought with extraordinary bravery. Upon this, ſome Foot, who were laid in an Ambuſh in the Ditches, ſuddenly got up, and made their Diſcharge ſo fortunately, that the Counts of *Moret*, of *Rieux*, of *Fenillade*, and ſeveral Officers were killed, and the Duke of *Montmorency* wounded in ſeveral parts of his Body. He might have withdrawn himſelf, if at the ſame time,



1 6 3 2. his Horse being wounded, had not dropt down under him, so that a little while after he was made Prisoner, and carried to *Leffoure*. The rest of Monsieur's Army, seeing themselves deprived of a considerable number of the Principal Officers, in stead of being animated to a revenge of their death, or going to free them from the hands of their Enemies, retired without fighting. Not long after the Foot were wholly dispersed, and Monsieur retired with his Horse to *Beziers*, while some Towns that had declared for him, returned to their former Allegiance and Duty.

The Duke of *Orleans* now begun to give great marks of Repentance for having engaged himself so far in an affair, out of which he could not disengage himself with Honour; and *Bullion*, who, after some Negotiations, to no purpose, went to see him from the King, obliged him, in a few days, to Sign an Accommodation, against the Mind of the greatest part of his Domesticks. The chiefest difficulty which lay in the way, was concerning the Duke of *Montmorency*, whom Monsieur would absolutely have restored to the enjoyment of his Liberty, Honours and Estate. \* *Bullion* told this Prince, That the best and onely way he had to obtain what he requested, was to submit himself wholly to the King's Will; that to desire an assurance of it, would be a Provocation to him, and an offence to that Trust he ought to have in his Clemency; That this being a Pardon which was wholly to redound to the King's Glory, he wrong'd the Duke of *Montmorency*, in not leaving it at His Majesty's Disposition; that the blind obedience he shew'd the King upon this occasion, ought to put him out of fear, and give him hopes as certain as he could desire. These Discourses of *Bullion* perswaded the Duke, That he had Orders from the King, to speak to him in this manner, and hindred *Gaston* from drawing any positive word for the liberty of the Duke of *Montmorency*. Whether *Puilaurens*, and the rest, whose Advice Monsieur required in every thing, were not sorry to see the Duke of *Montmorency* sacrificed, or whether they did not perceive the Artifice of *Bullion*; certain it is, that they committed in this occasion a prodigious fault, which discredited their Party for good and

\* See *Gaston's Letter to the King*, dated from *Montereau* the 13th of Nov. 1632. in the Hist. of *Lewis XIII.* by Ch. Bernard, Lib. 16.

and all. Thus did it appear evidently by Monsieur's Conduct, that those who Govern'd him, were not able to deceive any body but himself. They could easily bring him to shew his Dissatisfaction against the Court, but knew not to re-establish his Affairs upon a solid foundation, nor to put themselves into a condition, to improve, to their advantage, that exceeding power they had over his Inclinations.

The Treaty of Accommodation \* was to this effect, That Monsieur should acknowledge his Fault in Writing, and desire the King to Pardon him: That he should give all reasonable and possible assurances not to commit any such transgression for the future: That in order to this, he should Promise to leave all sorts of Cabals, in, and out of the Kingdom; and, under no pretence, and in no manner whatsoever to Maintain any Intelligence with the *Spaniards, Lorrainers*, or other Princes; nor with the *Queen-Mother*, while she continued in her present Circumstances; nor with any body in the Kingdom, against His Majesty's good pleasure; and to remain where His Majesty should be pleased to appoint him, and to live there as a true Brother and Subject: That he should not concern himself for those who had joyned with him in these occasions, to promote their own Affairs at his Cost, and the prejudice of the Nation, and should not pretend to have occasion of complaint given him, if the King at any time should punish them as they deserved; out of which number were excepted his *Domesticks*, who were then with him: That he should not demand any particular Pardon for those Strangers who Accompanied him; but that the King, out of his meer bounty and goodness, should grant them six days to withdraw into *Roussillon*: That he should fill the vacant Offices of his House, and, among the rest, namely that of Chancellor, with Persons nominated by the King; and if His Majesty was displeased with any of them, he should remove them immediately of His own accord: That the King being not ignorant how those bad Counsels which Monsieur had followed, were suggested to him by *Paulaurens*, this latter should sincerely give notice of all secret transactions that might be prejudicial to the State, to the King's Interest, and of those

\* Hist. of  
Lewis XIII. by  
Ch. Bernard,  
Lib. 16.

1 6 3 2. who had the honour to serve him faithfully; and should declare, that he would be held as guilty, as he was before he received the King's most Gracious Pardon, if he acted contrary to his Promise. In a particular Article, the Duke promised to cherish all those who served His Majesty, and particularly Cardinal *Richelieu*, whom he ever had esteemed, as was said in this Act, for his fidelity to His Person, and to the Interest both of King and State.

The King, on his side, granted His Pardon to Monsieur, and to his Domesticks, and moreover to the Duke of *Elbeuf*, whom he restored to his Estate, and permitted to reside in one of his Houses, that should be appointed by His Majesty. Monsieur signed this Agreement at *Besiers*, on the 29th of September, and the King ratified it by Letters Patents dated at *Montpellier* on the first of October.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7. p.  
519.

After this, Monsieur's Troops retir'd into *Reussillon*, and he \* Wrote a Letter to the King, and another to the Cardinal, full of Complements, wherein he disapproved the Declaration publish'd at his coming into the Kingdom against this Prelate, as having been publish'd without his knowledge, and having never seen it. Lastly, he desired the Cardinal to forget what was past, and promis'd him his Friendship. *Puylarens* sent also an Act to the King, written with his own hand, in which he promis'd to perform whatever was desired of him. \* After this Monsieur and his Domesticks took their way to *Tours*, where the King thought fit he should retire.

\* On the 4th  
of Octob.

He wrote another Letter to the King, wherein he earnestly desired him to forgive the Duke of *Montmorency*, but to no purpose. As soon as he was taken, it was debated in a secret Council what to do with him, and 'tis confidently reported, that care was taken already to incense the King against him, by telling him, That they had found about his Arm a Locker of Gold, to which was tied the Picture of a certain Lady in Miniature, for whom His Majesty had a great Kindness. *Pompone d. Bilievre* Intendant in *Maréchal Schomberg's* Army took it dexterously from him at his Examination, and took the Picture from it; but as this was done in presence of several persons, notice was given

to the Cardinal of it, to exasperate the King against him. So when the question was put, If the King should use the Duke of *Montmorency* severely, or forgive him, it was no hard matter to incline him to a rigorous usage.

Nevertheless, the Cardinal being willing to affect an appearance at least of Equity towards a Man, to whom he was very much oblig'd, he begun to deliver his Opinion,\* by saying, 'That His Majesty might be moved for several Reasons, to Pardon the Duke of *Montmorency*: That Monsieur had offered to leave off all Correspondences that were displeasing to His Majesty, and to return to his Duty, upon condition that this Noble Lord should receive his Pardon, otherwise the Duke of *Orleans* could never with Honour renew His Obedience to His Majesty: for all his Domesticks advised him to hazard all things to save the Duke of *Montmorency*: That if Monsieur retired into *Spain*, he would induce the *Spaniards* to be very mischievous to *France*: That if Monsieur was brought into Despair, those who serv'd the King would not be in safety, because those of the contrary Party would not think themselves safe till they had brought them to ruine; That if Monsieur came once to leave off all Cabals and Practises contrary to the good of the State, any thing might be afterwards undertaken against the *Spaniards*, whereas while he was discontented, they could not make use of any occasion, though never so favourable.

After he had thus produc'd his Reasons in favour of the Duke of *Montmorency*, the Cardinal turned the Tables, and said, 'That on the other side, if they consider'd that the King was without Children, and Monsieur look'd upon as Presumptive Heir to the Crown, they would find, that if those who followed his Party, were not rigorously punish'd; the first time the King fell Sick, how inconsiderable soever his Sickness should be, so many People would declare for the Duke of *Orleans*, that the King would not be able to Master them: That on the contrary, if the Duke of *Montmorency* was brought to Deserved Punishment, no body would dare to engage in such Attempts any more; That not a few Kings, whom he named, had

*Siri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 7.  
p. 561.



1 6 3 2. maintained themselves in the declension of their Age, only by Severity; he cited some Examples, and continued, saying, That if the Nobility and Commons should once know, that the consideration which the King had for Monsieur was capable to hinder Seditious Persons from being punished with Death, there would be still great Numbers of Persons, who, thinking their Lives in safety, would venture their Estates and Fortunes for him, in hopes of being gainers at the Expence of the Kingdom: That turning Men out of their Offices in such an occasion, signified nothing, without taking their Lives away, because Monsieur being consider'd as next Heir to the Crown, those who should lose their Offices for taking up Arms for him, would hope to recover them with usury, as soon as this Prince ascended the Throne: That *Montmorency's* Crime was not a Simple Rebellion, in which Monsieur had engaged him, but that he had Incited the Duke of *Orleans* to enter into *France* with Arms, and raised up the Province, by Summoning an Assembly of the States, a thing that was never practised before: That it would be very difficult and dangerous to keep him in Prison: That in stead of extinguishing that Party, it would be revived, and gather more strength than before. That Monsieur submitted himself to the King out of Necessity, and not out of Inclination: That the *Spaniards* would prove always the same, and the Queen-Mother would still persist in her Anger: That *Paillart's* would have no less credit with Monsieur than before, and that his Ambition, and Intreaguings with the *Lorrainers*, would always continue: So that the danger being over, the Duke of *Orleans* would hearken to bad Counsels to gain: That if they thought fit to forsake the *Hollanders*, and the *Swedes*, the Rage of the *Spaniards* might perhaps cease; and if they would Sacrifice to the Queen-Mother all those whom she hated, and put the King in a total Dependence upon her, her Animosity might likewise be at an end; but if none of these things could be done, as really the King could do neither of them without undoing himself, 'twas certain that the more Monsieur's Party subsisted in the Heads of



it, the greater the danger wou'd be, by reason of their continual Cabals, and because the danger, when it was once over, was reckon'd for nothing: That the Duke of *Montmorency* being Punished, his Party would fall in *Languedoc*, and that of Monsieur all over *France*; whereas if he was kept a Prisoner, though never so many besides were Executed, he would have always secret Friends, and so much the more true to him, that they should have no other hopes but in his re-establishment, which consequently they would endeavour to procure by all ways whatsoever.

Afterwards the Cardinal began to Confute the Reasons he had at first propos'd, to favour the Pardon which Monsieur demanded for the Duke of *Montmorency*. He said, 'That the Promises which Monsieur made to obtain what he desired, wou'd be indeed considerable, had he not broken his word three times, though he had been very kindly us'd by the King, and seen all his Household rewarded with extraordinary Favours; but after this it would be imprudently done to trust him: That if Monsieur could not save the Duke of *Montmorency's* Life, he would find fewer People ready to serve him than if he saved him; and that this Reason alone was sufficient for to have him Punished: That Monsieur being not able to procure his Pardon, would not ruine himself; because of his Death, and that the necessity of leaving him to the Severity of his Sentence, wou'd secure his Reputation, since it is better at last to have an Arm cut off, than to lose ones Life: That suppose Monsieur should pass into *Spain*, uppon the Duke of *Montmorency's* being Punished, yet his Power would be so much Clipp'd, that he would never be able to set up another Party: That indeed, the Ministers who declar'd for Severity in this occasion, expos'd themselves very much; but when the Service of King and State were called in question, they ought not to have any regard to their particular Interest. Lastly, The Cardinal concluded, That to grant the Duke of *Montmorency's* Life to Monsieur's Request, would strengthen his Party, and weaken that of the King: nevertheless, the King might Grant it out of His meer Bounty, and not being ob-

1 6 3 2. lig'd to it by a Treaty; but there was more danger in  
 the doing, than in not doing of it.

The whole Council yielded to the Cardinal's Advice, which no body ever contradicted Unpunished, in Affairs of any moment. The King, who naturally was inclined to Severity, and to whom Generosity was almost an unknown Vertue, embraced, in this occasion, as in all others, the most Rigorous Parry. † After this Council, the King presided Personally at the States of *Langnedoc*, whom he Assembled at *Besiers*, and the Cardinal was there present. It was openly done with a design to lay a Censure upon the States, for suffering themselves to be seduced by the Duke of *Montmorency*, and to give order for the punishing of some Bishops and Gentlemen, who had declared for him.

From thence the Court repaired to *Toulouse*, where the Parliament took in hand the Trial of the Duke of *Montmorency*, though it belonged, by Right, to that of *Paris*. The Cardinal, who did not love delays, especially when the Ruine of his Enemies was to be effected, moved the King to nominate this Parliament to be the Judges in this Cause. *Chateaufort*, formerly Page to Constable *Montmorency*, Father to the Prisoner, and Six Masters of the Requests came thither to Preside at this Judgment; and forasmuch as the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken in Arms against His Majesty, and declared Guilty of High-Treason, after Examination, and a free

\* The 30th of  
 Octob.

† *Pontis Mem.*  
 T. 2. P. 36.

Confession on his part, he was Condemned to \* Death. During these Proceedings, and even after Sentence given, all the Duke's Friends, who were very numerous, Interceded for him in vain. † *Francis* of *Tuffac*, Lord of *Saint Breuil*, Captain of the Guards, who took him Prisoner, went to Beg his Life of the King in presence of the Cardinal, which was thought very absurd, there being so many other Persons of greater Quality that could have interceded for him, without his Interposing; therefore the King Laughed at him for it, and the Cardinal Reprimanded him after his manner; *Saint Breuil*, if the King would do you Justice, he would put your head where your feet are: As if it had been a Crime for such a Man as he was to Intercede for a Criminal of State.

\* Never-

\* Nevertheless the Cardinal would sometimes feign himself Afflicted in Publick, and wou'd desire several Perions of the First Rank to apply themselves to the King for Mercy. He sent *Biche* the Nuncio, and Cardinal *de la Palette* upon this Message, but the King was too much prepossessed to hearken to them. *S. Simon* a Relation of the Duke's, endeavouring to move the King to Mercy, the Cardinal made as if he took part in his Affliction, and, in appearance, joyned with him, to incline the King to Compassion, by excusing the Criminal. But, at the same time, he own'd, that His Majesty, after he had overcome the *Huguenots*, and extinguish'd a Dangerous Faction in His Dominions, found himself oblig'd to make an Example of the Duke of *Montmorency*, to keep the *Grandoes* in their Duty and Allegiance.

The Princess of *Conde*, Sister to this Lord, went, and cast her self, all in Tears, at the Cardinal's feet, Conjuring him to Intercede for her Brother; but the Artificious Prelate, in stead of lifting her up, fell himself upon his knees before her, and begun to Act the Afflicted Man, for not being able to Appease the King. The Duke of *Espernon*, Governour of *Guienna*, † who had been suspected of favouring Monsieur's Party, but had always kept firm to his Duty, though he was a particular Friend to the Duke of *Montmorency*, went immediately to *Toulouse*, and took upon himself to go and speak to the King, in the Name of all the Relations and Friends of the Duke of *Montmorency*. He kneeled down before him, and the King having bid him rise up, the Duke of *Espernon*, after having Acknowledg'd the Criminal's Fault, told him, amongst other things, That he was so much the more embolden'd to beg His Majesty's most Gracious Pardon, that himself having received the like Favour from his Bounty, in an occasion almost like this, he esteem'd himself very happy, that he had given no occasion to His Majesty to Repent of it: That he was not the onely Man amongst His Subjects that lay under the same obligations: That Cardinal *Richlieu* had as great a share in it as himself, that both of them had sided with the Queen-Mother, at a time when the King's Name was contrary to them, though

1 6 3 2.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
p. 565.

† *Hist. of the*  
*Duke of E-*  
*spernon in the*  
*year 1632. p.*  
*473.*

1 6 2 2. though they had no other intention than to serve him; and that if he had then abandoned them to the severity of the Laws, and of Justice, he would have deprived himself, both of the most profitable Services of the one, and of the grateful Acknowledgments of the other: That the Duke of *Montmorency's* youth ought to be no less an excuse to him, than their honest Intentions had been to them: That his Person being in the hands of His Majesty, he was not able to do him the least Injury, but his Conservation would be an eternal Monument to His Glory. He desired the King to consider, that in this young Duke's Person alone remained the Great and Illustrious Name of *Montmorency*: That the high Merits of his Ancestours, whose long Scies spread as far as the beginning of the *French* Monarchy, did call more loudly for His Grace, than his rashness did for the Severity of the King's Justice: That if he was so happy as to obtain a Second Life for his Friend, he would be his Security, that it should be wholly employed in the Service of His Majesty; and that his blood should onely serve to blot out both the Blackness and the Memory of his Crime.

The King heard the Duke of *Espernon* without interrupting him; and having cast his looks towards the ground, from the very beginning of his Speech, he continued in the same posture, and answered him not one word. The Duke perceived very well by this obstinate Silence, that the Cardinal had so deeply perswaded the King that *Montmorency* ought to die, that it was impossible to save him. However he reassumed his Speech again, and told the King, That since there was no Pardon to hope for the Duke, he desired him to give him leave to retire. The King answered, He might do it, and that himself would not make a long stay at *Toulouse*.

The Duke of *Montmorency* was so universally beloved by every body, and the Cardinal so universally hated, that a General appearance of Sorrow \* was to be seen at Court, and in the Faces of the People. One day the People of *Toulouse* fell a Crying about the House where the King Lodged, and once when he was in the Hall, in Company of many Persons, Cried aloud, *Mercy, Mercy;*

\* *Pontis, Mem.*  
T. 2. P. 37.



*Mercy; Pardon, Pardon.* The King asked what it was <sup>2 1 6 3 2</sup> and they told him, That if His Majesty would look out of the Window, he would pity that poor People: but the King answered fiercely, That if he followed the Inclinations of the People, he should not act as a King.

As soon as his Sentence was Read to him, the King sent to him to deliver back the Order of the Holy Ghost, and his Marshal's Staff, which the Duke sent him back by *De Launai* \* Lieutenant of the Life-Guards, who guarded him. He charged him to assure the King, That he Repented extremely for having offended him, and that he would die His very humble Subject and Servant. *Launai* found the King in His Closet Playing at *Chefs* with *Liancourt*; and after he had deliver'd the Duke's Compliment to the King, he fell at His feet all in Tears, and begged His Royal Pardon. All those who were in the Closet did the same; and the King had the displeasure to see every body weep about Him; no body but the Cardinal and his Creatures being able to digest the inflexibility he shewed upon this occasion. He answered, That there was no Pardon, and that he must die; that no body ought to be sorry to see a Man put to death, who had so much deserved it; and that he onely ought to be lamented for falling into so great a misfortune. The onely Favour which the King granted him, was, That the Hangman should not Tie him; that his Estate should not be Confiscated; and that he should be Executed in the Court of the Town-Hall. His Head was Cut off the same day that his Sentence was pronounced to him; after which the King prepared to take his Journey to *Paris*. 'Twas wondrous at, that this Prince, who always yielded to the first Accusation which the Cardinal made against any whom he desired to ruine, had they done never so great Services to the State, should remain inflexible to all the Sollicitations of the whole Court, and of all *France*, in an occasion, when by saving the last off-spring of the most Illustrious Race of His Kingdom, this single act of Clemency would have infinitely more turned to His Honour, than Severity. But, besides that, the Cardinal had put it into His Head, that Monsieur and his Followers



1 6 3 2. lowers had no other design but to Invade the Throne, though they feigned onely to be offended at the Minister: the fatal Miniature that was found about the Duke of *Montmorency*, did Incense the King so much against him, that nothing was able to save him.

While the King was at *Toulouse*, they begun to proceed likewise against the Bishops of *Alby*, of *Uzes*, of *Nismes*, of *Lodeve*, of *S. Pons*, and *Alers*; all of them Favourers of *Montmorency*. The Pope nominated some Prelates that were upon the place to manage the Trial against them: The Bishops of *Alby* and *Nismes* were deprived of the Temporalities, not onely of their Bishopricks, but their other Benefices; and the Bishop of *Uzes* had suffered the same Punishment, if he had not died before his Trial. As for the rest, they were sent back to their respective Diocesses. Those of the Nobility who had declared for Monsieur, had their Houses and Woods beaten down; and thus the whole Province was intirely restored to its former Tranquillity.

The *Marschal d'Effiat*, Superintendent of the Finances, dying soon after in *Germany*, *Bullion* succeeded him in that place, and the *Marquils de Breze*, Brother-in-Law to the Cardinal, was made a *Marschal of France*, after the Battel of *Castelnaudary*. The *Marschal de Schomberg* was rewarded with the Government of *Languedoc*, which the Duke of *Montmorency* had before him, but he enjoy'd it not long, dying soon after.

The Cardinal propos'd to the Duke of *Espernon* at *Toulouse*, that if he would, in Complaisance to him, lay down the Government of *Metz*, the Survivorskip of which Place belonged to his Son, and resign it up to him, he wou'd obtain of His Majesty the Survivorskip of that of *Guienne*: But the Duke of *Espernon*, who had no kindness for the Cardinal, and besides, was not a Man to be manag'd after such a rate, refus'd the Motion. 'Twas believed that this Prelate had a design to possess himself of the Bishoprick of *Metz*, and of some rich Abbeys in that City, and to set off this with the Title of the Governour of the City and Country about *Metz*, as well as the Cities and Citadels of *Thoul* and *Verdun*, in order to secure himself of a secure retreat on that Side, in case of necessity.

After

After the Death of the Duke of *Mansmorency*, the King returned to *Paris*, and came to his Castle of *Versails* in a few days. The Cardinal was desirous to carry him with the whole Court to his Government of *Brouage*, and to *Rocheb*, designing to bring him back to *Paris* by the way of *Richlieu*, where he intended to regale him; but though the King would not go thither himself, yet he gave his Consent that all the Court should follow the Cardinal. Some People were of opinion, that this Prelate, since he could not prevail with his Majesty to go along with him, was resolved so to manage Affairs that no body should talk with him in his Absence, the Queen herself not excepted. Thus this Princess was forced upon this Journey contrary to her Inclinations, as all the World imagined, because she had no reason to be a Friend of the Cardinal, who not long before had proposed to the King to repudiate her for being barren, besides that she was too much concerned for the House of *Austria*, not to hate the Man that was a professed Enemy to it. For this reason she was sad and melancholy all this Journey, notwithstanding the great Honour and Respect which the Cardinal caus'd to be paid her wherever she went.

She had a mind to \* go and see the House of the Duke of *Espernon* at *Cadillac*; in order to which she must pass the *Garonne*. The Duke got his Coaches ready to receive her as she came out of the Boat, and gave Orders for one to stay behind to take up the Cardinal if he happened to come after her. As soon as her Majesty arrived, the Duke received her, and waited on her to her Apartment, thinking there was a Coach left for the Cardinal; but it seems his Orders were ill executed, and indeed there were but Coaches just enough for the Queen's Retinue. In the mean time the Cardinal passed the River, and finding né'er a Coach there to receive him, walk'd a foot towards the Duke's House, and was got half the way thither, when the Duke, after he paid his first Devoirs to the Queen at his own House, ran to meet him. He made him a thousand Excuses, assuring him he had given Orders for a Coach to be left for him at the River-side, but that his Commands had not been observed. The Cardinal pretended to be well satisfied with this Excuse, but 'tis certain he was inwardly displeased with the Duke, since

1 6 3 2.  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 7.  
Pag. 170.

\* Life of the  
D. of Espernon.

1 6 3 2. since he refused to go into a Coach that was offer'd him, and walked the rest of the way on foot, although it incommoded him.

† The Queen, after she had stayed two days at *Cadillac*, returned to *Bordeaux*, and the Cardinal came thither likewise. Here he fell sick of a Stoppage of Urine, which put him in danger of his Life. 'Twas generally believed he would never recover, and all People were glad at the News, hoping now shortly to see Peace in the Royal Family, Justice administred according to the Laws, and the King's Favours distributed with more equality to those that deserved them. † While his Sickness continued, there were several Balls at *Bordeaux*, and other Rejoycings, which sufficiently discovered the Peoples Hatred of this Minister, who favour'd none but such as were willing to live and die his Slaves. *Chateaufneuf*, who otherwise seemed to be very submissive to him, danced in one of these Balls, at a time when the Cardinal pretended all the World should be at their Prayers for his Recovery: and this, in the opinion of some Persons, did not a little contribute to his Ruine.

† Siri Mem.  
Rec. Tom. 7.  
Pag. 594.

† Life of the  
D. of Esper-  
non, p. 478.

The Queen not thinking her self obliged to make a longer stay at *Bordeaux*, although the Cardinal was in a desperate Condition, took the Road to *Rochel*, with a design to return from thence to *Paris*. † All the while her Majesty continued at *Bordeaux*, the Duke of *Espernon* ordered his Guards, whom he kept in Quality of Governour of the Province, to leave off their Liveries and Musquets, and laid aside all the Functions and Marks of his Office; but as soon as the Queen was gone, he thought there lay no Obligation upon him to shew the Cardinal that respect which was only due to a Sovereign. Thus going to make this Minister a Visit, who was now on the mending hand, he came, accompanied as far as the Gate of his Lodgings by his Guards, with their Coats and Musquets. The Cardinal's People, who were used to make others tremble, run to their Arms, while the Duke enter'd, and without taking the least notice of the Disorder he saw, was got to his Anti-Chamber, where he enquired after his Health. The Cardinal sent him Word that he was still so indisposed, that he begg'd his Excuse if he could not see him. After this the Duke still observed

observed this Custom; and when the Cardinal parted for *Brouage*, he went to accompany him to his Boar, attended by his Guards, and several of the Nobility of that Province, as it were to shew him the greater Honour. However, the Cardinal was afterwards made to believe, that the Duke had some Design upon his Person, and 'tis credibly reported, that ever since that time, this Minister was not thought to be safe enough at *Bordeaux*. But if the Duke had design'd any thing of that nature, he might easily have accomplish'd it, being much stronger, and infinitely better beloved at *Bordeaux* than the Cardinal was; and besides, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who was the Duke's Son, never quitted this Minister, during the whole time of his Illness.

While the Cardinal was in the height of his Distemper, he ordered the *Commandeur de la Porte* his Uncle, and the *Marquis de la Meilleraye* his Cousin to accompany the Queen; who gave her a Magnificent Entertainment at the Castle of *Richlieu* in *Poitou*, which the Cardinal had lately built, and had made a very pleasant place. He was not fully recovered, when he caused himself to be carried to *Blaye*, and from thence to *Brouage*, where he was intirely restored to his health. After this, he returned without farther delay to *Paris*, and the King went as far as *Rochefort* to meet him, which stands within Ten Leagues of that City.

While the Court was in *Languedoc*, \* Ten Men were apprehended at *Paris*, who were accused to have come thither by the Queen-Mother's Order, to steal away *Madam de Combalet*, who stay'd all the time at *Paris*, and to carry her into *Flanders*. One of these Ten Men was a Nephew of Father *Chanteloube*, a Favourite of the Queen, and one of her *Valets de Chambre*: It was discours'd that this Princess was desirous to get the Cardinal's Niece into her hands, either to facilitate her own Return into *France*, or else to hinder this Lady from Marrying the Count *de Soissons*, or *Monsieur*, as the Report ran. The King being informed that they were in Prison, sent Orders to have them immediately Tried, and Writ a very obliging Letter to *Madam de Combalet*, wherein he told her, That he cou'd never have believed, that since he had given Peace to His Kingdom, by

1632

Siri Mem.

Rec. T. 7:  
P. 175.



1 6 3 2.

the Force of his Arms, and brought the Rebels to due Punishment, there had been any so bold and adventurous as to attempt such an Enterprize ; But that since some disaffected Persons still sought new occasions to embroil the Nation, he wou'd immediately come to *Paris* to set all things in order. He also Congratulated her good Fortune, that she had so happily escaped the Snare that was laid for her ; and added, That if she had been taken, he wou'd have gone in Person with an Army of Fifty thousand Men into *Flanders*, to set her at Liberty again.

This Lady had lived, till the above-mention'd Affair came to be discover'd, in an Hôtel which joyned to *Luxemburg-House*, and which the Queen-Mother had bestowed upon the Cardinal when he was in her Favour, upon condition that she might take it into her own hands again whenever she pleas'd, paying down the Sum of Thirty thousand Livres. When she came to fall out with this Prelate, she demanded to have this Hôtel surrender'd to her ; and having sent for the Contract, she found, that instead of so many Livres, it was Crowns ; and that instead of whenever she pleas'd, it was, when the King commanded it. The Queen protested, That she never meant to make any such Articles as these, and charged the Cardinal with Forgery. She Addressed her self to the King, to oblige him to deliver it up ; but His Majesty, the more to Mortifie her, wou'd have the Cardinal still keep in Possession. This ill usage vexed this Princess extreamly : but she had farther occasion to complain, when being out of *France* she was inform'd, that *Combalet* lived there, and daily receiv'd Visits from Persons of the First Quality, who made their Court to her Uncle by going to see her. Besides this, she made several new alterations in the House for her own Convenience ; and, for this purpose, without any more adoe, caused part of the Wall belonging to the Palace of *Luxemburg* to be beaten down. 'Tis believ'd that it was partly occasion'd by this, that the Queen fell upon the design, to have *Combalet* stollen away, although there is no question, but that she made these Alterations by her Uncle's Orders, not being naturally of so haughty a humour, as to disoblige the Queen-Mother in so high



a point as this was, of her own head. However, when this Design was discover'd, she thought her self no longer safe in this House, and went to live at her Uncle's Palace, where she seldom stirr'd out of doors.

*Monsieur* having receiv'd the News of the Duke of *Montmorency's* Death, whose Life he perswaded himself they wou'd have sav'd, thought that he should be everlastingly Disgrac'd, and that no body for the future wou'd expose themselves to the Minister's Indignation for his sake, if he did not express some resentment for so notorious an Affront. It was confidently reported, that part of his Domesticks wou'd be removed, and that some of them should be declar'd not to be of that number, in order to punish them, as being excluded out of the Treaty which had been concluded with him. This made him interpret the Beheading of the Duke of *Montmorency* to be an Infraction of this Treaty, which he said, He Sign'd onely out of a supposition that they wou'd give that Nobleman his Life. So he parted secretly from *Tours* on the 6th of *November*, and on the 12th Writ a † Letter to the King from *Montereau Faut-Tonne*, wherein he vehemently complains of this Violation; and tells him, That to obtain the Life of that Illustrious Lord, his Cousin, he had Sacrificed all his own Interests, and those of his Followers; stifled the justest Resentments, dissembled his dearest Affections, and even renounced, for a time, that very duty to which Nature oblig'd him. He farther added, That he had been given to understand from the Part of the King, That if he made the least movement towards *Roussillon*, it should cost the Duke of *Montmorency* his Life; and that he had inferr'd from this Discourse, that he might hope for a quite contrary Treatment, if he obey'd His Majesty: but that after he had made the most Humble Submissions to the King, which he cou'd expect from the meanest Subject he had, no regard was made of his Honour. Towards the close, he begg'd His Majesty not to be displeas'd at the Resolution he had taken; of endeavouring to find a safe Retreat for his Person among Foreigners, since he had just reason to apprehend the consequences of that extraordinary contempt which they had shew'd to all his Submissions. The King answer'd

† See it in  
the Hist. of  
Lewis XIII<sup>th</sup>  
Ch. Bernard,  
Lib. 16.

1 6 3 2. this Letter on the 25th of the same Month, by accusing the Duke of *Montmorency*, whom no body excused, and by saying, That down-right necessity had constrain'd Monsieur to submit himself; however, 'tis certain, that nothing cou'd have hindred him from making the best of his way to *Roussillon*, if he had had the courage to attempt it.

\* *Siri Mem.*

REG. T. 7. P.

520.

Thus, by the way of \* *Champagne*, he retired into the Low-Countries, and was extreamly well received by the Infanta at *Brussels*, although the Ministers of *Spain* did not build much upon his Discontent, being perswaded that the Cardinal cou'd make him return into *France* when he pleased, by offering him some Advantageous Terms. As for the Queen-Mother, under a pretence of changing the Air, she went to *Malines* the day before his arrival, being displeased with him, because in the Treaty of *Besiers* he was so far from supporting her interest, that he did not so much as make any mention of her. The Duke of *Orleans* followed her, but cou'd not prevail with her to return to *Brussels*, nor dissuade her from the Design she had taken up to go and reside at *Ghent*. He strove to justify himself by the necessity he lay under, to give way to the time, that so he might find a way to escape out of the Cardinal's hands, till he cou'd do it with more security, and come to re-joyn her in the Low-Countries. 'Tis indeed certain that *Gaston*, who was of a timorous disposition, and besides was none of the most able Men in the World, cou'd not have done otherwise; and the Queen, without doubt, had pardon'd him this Omission, if Father *Chanteloube* had not inspired her with a coldness for her Son. The reason of which was, that this good Father cou'd not endure that *Puilaurens*, who had an absolute Ascendant over Monsieur, shou'd equal him, and he, for his part, was not of an humour to truckle to any one, and had, in his time, refused to be over-ruled by some People that were infinitely more considerable than Father *Chanteloube*. This inflexible temper on both sides brought them to an open defiance of one another, and this caused them to sow that disaffection between the Mother and the Son, which gave the Cardinal an opportunity to ruine all their Designs with much more ease, than if they had been better united.

Monsieur

Monſieur ſent advice of his departure out of *France* 1 6 3 2.  
 to the Emperour, and to the Kings of *England* and *Spain*,  
 and deſired their Aſſiſtance to enable him to make his  
 way into *France* again. The King had, before this, ſent  
*Bautru* into *Spain*, to complain of the † Succours which  
 the Infanta and the Miniſters of the Catholick King had  
 given Monſieur; and, at the ſame time, to juſtifie thoſe  
 which *France* gave the King of *Sweden*, againſt the Houſe  
 of *Auſtria*. Soon after the News arrived of the death  
 of *Gulſtavius Adolphus*, who was ſlain on the 6th of No-  
 vember, in the Battel of *Lutzen*, where his Army got the  
 Victory after he was kill'd. From that time it was conclu-  
 ded in *France*, That if they did not more vigorouſly Aſſiſt  
 the *Swedes* in *Germany*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* would  
 ſoon Triumph over their Party: ſo ſeveral Perſons were  
 diſpatched thither to ſupport it, and to engage the Prote-  
 ſtants to favour it more than ever.

† *Siri*, *Ibid.*  
 P. 582.

On the firſt day of the year 1633, the King held a 1 6 3 3.  
 Council upon the Affairs of *Germany*, where the Cardi-  
 nal repreſented to them, ' That the firſt thing they  
 ' were to do, was, to raiſe a good Sum of Money, at  
 ' what price ſoever, and to manage matters ſo, that the  
 ' War might continue in *Germany* and the *Low-Coun-*  
 ' *tries*, and yet not declare formally againſt the Houſe  
 ' of *Auſtria*; upon condition that thoſe whom they  
 ' furniſhed with Money, ſhou'd neither make a Peace  
 ' or Truce without the Conſent of *France*: That howe-  
 ' ver, in caſe they found they were not able to carry on  
 ' the War, then they muſt come to ſuch an Accommoda-  
 ' tion as they cou'd obtain: That they ought to conſi-  
 ' der, whether the King was not obliged, in point of  
 ' Interſt, rather to break openly with the Houſe of  
 ' *Auſtria*, and to joyn himſelf with the Proteſtants of  
 ' *Germany*, and the *States-General* of the *United-Provin-*  
 ' *ces*, than to run the hazard of ſeeing a Truce conclu-  
 ' ded, which wou'd put a ſtop to the War, in which  
 ' he was not Included: That if a Peace were made in  
 ' *Germany*, and a Truce in the *Low-Countries*, or one of  
 ' theſe onely, then *France* wou'd be left alone by it ſelf to  
 ' ſupport a Deſenſive War, which might be carried into  
 ' the Bowels of it, and in which the Party of Monſieur  
 ' and of the Queen-Mother, wou'd become as powerful

1 6 2 3. as they were now contemptible. That on the other  
 side, if they began the War, all the World wou'd be-  
 lieve, they did it voluntarily, and of their own mo-  
 tion, although they were really drawn into it by mere  
 necessity: That the zealous, who are generally very  
 indiscreet, wou'd cry out, That this War was de-  
 sign'd for the Destruction of the Catholick Religion;  
 that His Majesty therefore ought maturely to delibe-  
 rate what Measures He was to take in this juncture,  
 before he engaged Himself too far.

The Cardinal continued his Discourse, and observed,  
 That if they design'd to Unite with the Protestants of  
 Germany, and to declare for them, they cou'd not do it  
 but upon the following Conditions; That they should  
 maintain the Catholick Religion in those places where it  
 was already settled, that they should deliver up to the  
 King all that they held on this side the Rhine, the Prin-  
 cipal Towns of the Palatinate, with what they posses-  
 sed in Alsatia, and in the Bishoprick of Strasburg;  
 that they should help him to take Philipsburg and Bri-  
 sac, and that they should be obliged to enter into no  
 Peace or Truce without the King's Consent; that they  
 must obtain a Promise of the States-General of the U-  
 nited Provinces to preserve the Catholick Religion in  
 those Conquests they shou'd happen to make; that  
 they must likewise, in conjunction, attack the Mari-  
 time Towns, upon condition, that whatever they took  
 shou'd belong to the King; that the Protestants shou'd  
 demand nothing more of France than onely to break  
 with the House of Austria, either in Germany or Flan-  
 ders, or in Italy, and to keep an Army in Alsatia, ready  
 to assist them in time of need; that this being supposed,  
 the Advantages that wou'd arise from this War, wou'd  
 be very considerable, and the danger but small, since  
 the King might extend the limits of His Dominions as  
 far as the Rhine, without drawing his Sword; that  
 having such considerable Pledges in his hands, he wou'd  
 be the Arbitrator of War and Peace, neither of which  
 cou'd be concluded without him; that this Surrendry  
 wou'd give him an open entrance into the Territories  
 of Strasburg, the Franche Comte, the Dutchy of Luxem-  
 burg, and that it wou'd bridle the Duke of Lorraine so  
 effectually

effectually, that he cou'd attempt nothing of any consequence; that they shou'd run no manner of hazard, since as they made War in Conjunction with the *Germans* and the *Hollanders*, it wou'd be impossible for the House of *Austria* to carry it into *France*; that they needed but a few more Troops to effect all this; and that the *Queen-Mother's Dowry*, and the Appanage of the Duke of *Orleans*, wou'd bear the Expence; that otherwise *France* wou'd find it self alone to deal with the House of *Austria*; that in all probability a Peace might be concluded in *Germany*, and a Truce in *Holland*, by the Intervention of His Majesty, which wou'd contribute mightily to the settling of a General Peace, which perhaps wou'd be the effect onely of the Union between *France* and the Protestant-Princes of *Germany*.

After he had reason'd a long while upon these Heads, the Cardinal concluded, and the Council after him, to set all Wheels a-going to continue the War in *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*, against the House of *Austria*, although the King was not to declare Himself openly; and for this end it was resolv'd to send at the same time Ambassadors Extraordinary to the Emperour, to all the Electors Catholick and Protestant, and to the States of the *United Provinces*, to exhort the one to continue the War with vigour, and to Promise them Assistance against their enemies, while they assured the latter, that they wou'd live in Peace with them. This Resolution was accordingly put in execution, and all endeavours were used to oblige the Generals *Baudissen* and *Horn* to deliver up into the hands of *France* all the Places which they possessed in the Electorates of *Colen* and *Mentz*, and in *Alsacia*. Above all they desired to have *Mentz*, that they might more easily make themselves Masters of *Strasburg*, and all the Country which lies on this side the *Rhine*; By that means the King wou'd be in a capacity, either to enlarge the Frontiers of his State, or else wou'd have enough in his hands to make an Advantageous Treaty; or lastly, if he must sit down content with the bare Honour of the thing, he might dispossess the Protestants of those Places which they had taken from the Catholicks, and pretend, that he had ne-



1 6 3 3. ver any other Design, and that this was the end of that Alliance which he had made with the late King of Sweden.

\* *Siri Mem.*

Rec. Tom. 7.

p. 588.

† The 23d of Jan.

The Cardinal being arrived at *Paris*, \* sent one day for † *Gondi* the Resident of *Florence*, and after he had entertain'd him about several other matters, began at last to discourse about the Queen-Mother's Affairs. He enquired of *Gondi* what he thought of the Queen-Mother's Design ( for so it was reported ) of going into *Italy*; and when *Gondi* had assured him, That he never heard the least word that the Queen had any inclinations to quit the *Low-Countries*, the Cardinal continuing the Discourse, told him, ' That the Imprudence and fury of Father *Chanteloube* having oblig'd the King to demand him of the Infanta, this Man was in so great a Consternation, that he had perswaded the Queen to leave the *Low-Countries*, where he did not think himself safe enough; that upon this suggestion the Queen-Mother had sent to the King of *England*, to know if he wou'd be pleas'd to receive her, but that he had refused to do it at the instance of the King her Son; that afterwards she had desired the above-mention'd King, that he wou'd give her leave to come to *Plimouth*, and lend her some Ships to Transport her to *Spain*: That this Prince, who believ'd, that if ever she set foot in *England*, she wou'd never be brought to leave it, had made Answer, That he wou'd willingly provide her with Ships, if he was assured of her Reception in *Spain*, and that *France* wou'd not take it ill: That *Spain* had declar'd she was ready to receive her, but that the King cou'd not tell what to resolve upon, by reason of the great compassion he had for her; and that *England* wou'd not receive her but upon condition, that she wou'd not make any long stay there: That this poor Woman ( for so the Cardinal thought fit to call her ) had drawn these Misfortunes upon her self, by following the Ill Advice of other People, and by her own obstinacy, which was so incurable, that she still protested, That she did not now, and never wou'd, repent of what she had done.

At last, after he had pretended to have a mighty Com-  
 miseration for her, he added, 'That *England* per-  
 'haps might be induced to furnish her with Ships, in  
 'case she wou'd retire to some place, where His Ma-  
 'jesties Clemency, and *Filial Amity*, might grant her  
 'some acts of Favour, without prejudicing the welfare  
 'of the State, and where the Cardinal might be able  
 'to procure them for her, as he passionately desired:  
 'That he cou'd scarce believe she design'd to tarry in  
 '*Spain*; and since she was deny'd Admission into *Eng-*  
 '*land*, he cou'd not tell but that she might have some  
 'thoughts to pass into *Florence*, in case the Grand-Duke  
 'wou'd give her a Kind Reception. Upon this he  
 Asked *Gondi*, Whether he cou'd give him any Light as  
 to this Affair? And the Resident Answer'd, That he  
 was wholly ignorant what the Queen's Intentions were,  
 but that he durst venture to Assure him, that the Grand-  
 Duke was wholly unacquainted with them: and that  
 as there was not the least reason to doubt, but that the  
 King Lov'd His Mother, no body had any occasion to  
 be in any pain about her. The Cardinal Reply'd,  
 'That if the Queen was minded to return to her Na-  
 'tive Country for a short time, till she had fully recon-  
 'cil'd her Self to the King, it wou'd not be taken amiss  
 'of the Grand-Duke to receive her; and that the  
 'Queen's Conduct wou'd not be disapproved, since she  
 'wou'd be in a place where she then cou'd not abuse  
 'the kindnesses His Majesty shou'd Her.

The Cardinal added, 'That nevertheless, if the  
 Queen once set foot in *England*, she wou'd not easily  
 leave it. He wou'd not explain himself any farther,  
 thinking it sufficient, that he had made an Overture  
 which the Grand-Duke might make the best use of in  
 time of necessity. He was resolv'd to come to no man-  
 ner of Accommodation with her, till he had effectually  
 humbled her, and constrain'd her to do what he pleas'd.  
 At present the onely trial of Skill was, to oblige her to  
 depart out of the Dominions of *Spain*, and to endea-  
 vour to make her go to *Florence*, that so she might not  
 prove an obstacle to any Treaty that they might make  
 with *Spain*, according as an occasion should present it  
 self. While she and Monsieur were in their Territo-  
 ries,

1633. ries, it wou'd be impossible to make a Treaty without comprehending them in it; and the Cardinal pretended that they should leave all to His Majesty's good pleasure, and give their consent for him to Punish those that had followed them. Thus all endeavours were used to make them quit the *Spanish Territories*.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conde* was come back from *Bruges*, and the King sent him into *Burgundy*, to oblige the Parliament of *Dijon* to hasten the Trials of the Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Puilaurens*, *Condray Montpensier*, and the other Domesticks of the Duke. They were Condemned to Die as Rebels, they were Executed in Effigie, and their Goods were Confiscated.

† The 25th of  
Febr. Siri  
Memo. Rec.T.  
7. p. 594.

Not long after, † the King being at *St. Germans*, took away the Seals from *Chateaufneuf*, who nevertheless had been a faithful drudge to the Cardinal, and had exercised several Arbitrary Acts of Violence to please him. As the causes of his Disgrace were not positively known, people fell upon several things which might contribute to ruine him. Some said, That he was in Love with the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuse*, and that he was Loved by her; that this made the Cardinal jealous, who was exceedingly offended at *Chateaufneuf*, when he saw some Letters of his to that Dutcheſs, wherein \* he Ridicul'd the Cardinal in very outrageous terms. They add farther, That the Cardinal came to know, that he had Danced in a Ball at *Bordeaux*, when he lay so dangerously ill there. 'Tis also pretended, that this Prelate being told, That he flatter'd himself with the hopes of arriving to be Chief Minister in a short time, and that he had formed certain Cabals for that end, he wou'd never pardon him this Ambition. † However it was, the Seals were given to *Peter Seguiet*, President of the Parliament, with a certain Promise to be made Chancellor, so soon as *d'Aligre* was dead. *Chateaufneuf* was sent to the Castle of *Angouleme*, being accused of a Design to raise Disorders at Court.

\* *Le Monde*  
vamo, says Siri  
ridi culo fra-  
gido, a causa  
della sue ma-  
lattie hemor-  
roidale.

† Aubery's  
Life of the  
Cardinal, lib.  
4. c. 36.

\* Siri, Ibid.  
p. 595.

At the same \* time they sent some of his Friends to the *Bastile*, and, among others, the *Chevalier du Fars*, who, as it was alledged against him, perswaded Monsieur and the Queen-Mother to retire into *England*. As they had no Proof of it, the Cardinal bethought himself of  
an

an extraordinary stratagem, to discover, whether he was concern'd in this Affair or no. He not onely caus'd him to be put into Prison, but he engag'd the Judges to manage his Trial, and Sentence him to have his head cut off, by giving them his word, that this Sentence shou'd not be put in Execution, but that the King shou'd Pardon him, in case there were no Positive Proofs brought against him at his Trial. In pursuance of this he was Condemned, his Sentence was Read to him, and being upon the Scaffold, after he had said his Prayers, without making any Confession, and he had put himself in a posture to receive the Stroke, they cryed out, *A Pardon.* As he was ready to come down, one of the Judges perswaded him, Since he had now tryed the King's Clemency, to discover the Intrigues of *Chateaucneuf*; but he courageously answer'd, That he very well saw, that some People were willing to take hold of his present circumstances, to make him say something disadvantageous to his Friend; but that he ought to know, That since the terrible Image of Death had not made him speak, nothing was capable to extort from him the Secrets of his Friends, or any thing that might do them the least Injury. He was almost the onely Person, of all those whom the Cardinal brought to the Scaffold, that showed Resolution and Courage, the greatest part of the rest making him, as it were, an Honourable amends before they were Executed, under a pretence of dying like Christians. Christianity indeed oblig'd them to forgive him, but by no means to approve of his Arbitrary and Unjust Conduct, which was full as contrary to the Gospel, as a Spirit of Vengeance which they were afraid to betray. But the truth is, that after they had vainly endeavour'd to live like Freemen, they lost their Sentiments with their Liberty, and rather died like vile Slaves, than good Christians.

When *Chateaucneuf* was sent to Prison, the Marschal d'Estrees, who was one of his best Friends, having received the news of it at Treves, where he Commanded the King's Army, it so strangely affrighted him, that he \* quitted the Army without saying a word, and retired to *Vandervange*. The example of the Marschal de *Marillac* came into his Mind, when he heard of the Dis-

grace

\* The 15th of  
March, See  
Mem. Rec. T.  
7. P. 155.

1 6 3 3. grace of his Friend, and saw a Courier bring Letters to the other Officers, and never a one to himself. He imagin'd that *Saludie* and *Busse-Lamet*, to whom the *Pacquet* was directed, had Orders to Apprehend him. But discovering at last that his fear had been in vain, he sent a Gentleman four days after to the King and Cardinal, to beg their Pardon for going away so abruptly, and ingenuously to confess, how he had been impos'd upon by his Fear. This set the whole Court a Laughing, and he received Orders to return to *Treves*. At the same time the Dutches of *Chevreuse* left the Court, by the King's Order, which made the World believe, that the Cardinal's Jealousie was in great measure the cause of the disgrace of *Chateauneuf*.

The King came to *Paris* on the 11th of *April*, and went next morning to the Parliament, to suppress the Office of President which *Coigneux* had, and that of Counsellour, enjoy'd by *Payen*, Chief Secretary to the Queen-Mother, whom he afterwards restor'd in Compliment to the Two Masters of Accounts, whom the Cardinal favour'd exceedingly. Nevertheless the Law concerning Five years, which are allowed to those that were Condemned for Contumacy, was suffer'd to stay in full force, in respect of others, because it wou'd have given them too much trouble to make any Alterations in it. The King Censur'd the Company very severely for presuming to send their Deputies a few days before to *S. Germans*, to desire him to re-call the President *de Memes*, whom the Cardinal had Banished. The King told them, That he wou'd take care to Chastise those that refused to obey him, and that if the Parliament wou'd not suffer the Magistrates that were subordinate to it to be remiss in the execution of its Orders, it was not just that a Sovereign should bear the disobedience of His Subjects: He added, That he wou'd be obey'd that very instant; and that for the future when he came to the Parliament, he expected the Four Presidents should come and receive him upon their knees without the door of the Chamber, as the Custom had been formerly. As for the President *de Memes*, instead of being set at liberty, and called home, he was Imprison'd in the Cittadel of *Angers*.  
Thus



Thus the King hindred them from making any Remonstrances to him, upon any occasion whatever, and striving to Reign more Absolutely than any of His Predecessors, he resigned himself entirely to all the Passions of his Minister, though they were never so unjust; so that it was not possible to open his eyes, and undeceive him.

Soon after, the King \* held a General Chapter of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, and gave the Ribbon to the Cardinals of *Richlieu*, and *La Valette*. They received the *Blew Ribbon* standing, whereas the other Commandeurs, even Bishops, used to receive it kneeling. The King and the Cardinal a particular Favour, and asked him, Whether he desired to be Promoted before or after *Vespers*? and the next day when His Majesty made the New Knights, he sent him two or three Dishes from his own Table at every Service; and, towards the end a Rock of Sweet-meats, out of which sprung an Artificial Fountain of Water.

While these things happened within the Kingdom, the Cardinal used his endeavours to keep the House of *Austria* so well employ'd without, that it cou'd make no advantage of the Broils of the Queen-Mother, and Monsieur. The Marquis *de Feuquiers* renew'd with Chancellour † *Oxenstiern* at *Hailbron* the League which the Crown of *France* had made with the King of *Sweden*, and promis'd that his Daughter *Christina* should receive the yearly sum of a Million of Livres, to continue the War in *Germany*. The two Crowns oblig'd themselves to make no Treaty but with Common Consent, and to support all their Allies. I shall not stop at the particulars of this League, nor at the other Negotiations which the Ministers of *France* managed in *Germany* to Embarrass the Emperour, and at the same time to lay hold of any fair opportunity to extend the Frontiers of *France* on that side.

At the same time the Cardinal set his Engines at work to break off the \* Negotiation that was on foot at the *Hague*, between the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, and the Envoys of the *Spanish-Netherlands*, concerning a second Truce between the King of *Spain* and the *States-General*. As there were abundance of great difficulties in the thing it self, it seem'd an easie matter

1633.

\* The 14th of May, Aubert's Life of the Card. Lib. 4. c. 36.

† By a Treaty sign'd the 9th of April, Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 7. p. 67.

• Siri, lib. 4. p. 655.

1 6 3 3. matter so to order Affairs, that the War might continue. Besides this, some of the Nobility of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, who were discontented at the Government, offer'd to deliver up to the King, *Bouchain*, *Quesnoi*, *Avenes*, and *Landreci*, places of great importance upon the Frontiers of *Arton*, and to make a general Insurrection in the Country. The Malecontents represented to the King, that if he lost so fair an opportunity, he might perhaps be never able to recover it; and that those persons that were now disposed to throw themselves under his Protection, cou'd not be supposed to be able to live in a perpetual iniquity; and danger of being discover'd.

The Cardinal told the King in Council, ' That Henry the 4th wou'd never have let slip such an occasion; but that regard must be had to the time: That the King was without Children, and that Monsieur the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, was in *Flanders* with the Queen-Mother: That the King's Constitution was not strong enough to engage him in a War, which wou'd exceedingly fatigue both his Body and Mind: That, upon this occasion, the Court must of necessity be at a great distance from *Paris*: That the King's Exchequer was exhausted: That the zealous Catholics wou'd exclaim more than ever, that this War was carried on to favour the Hereticks: That they wou'd be obliged at the same time to keep up Considerable Armies in *Champagne* and *Italy*, because there was good reason to distrust the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorrain*: That it was the Genius of the *French* Nation to be equally weary of War and Peace: That if the King was once engaged in a War, the Governours of the Provinces wou'd more easily declare for the Duke of *Orleans*: That the least ill success, as the loss of a Town, or a Battle, wou'd be enough to cause terrible Convulsions in the State: That in case His Majesty happen'd to fall sick, his Servants wou'd be lost to all intents; and therefore though it was probable that some Advantages were to be got by a Rupture with *Spain*, yet it wou'd be better to live in Peace, and be content with assisting their Enemies; that so they might not have them upon their hands: That the Money

‘ Money which the *Hollanders* demanded, to continue  
 ‘ the War against the *Spaniards*, was ready, so that now  
 ‘ nothing remain’d to doe, but onely to take care  
 ‘ to execute the Project they had propos’d, which was,  
 ‘ that if the King wou’d send Six thousand Foot, and  
 ‘ Six hundred Horse before *Dunkirk*, they wou’d send  
 ‘ their Army and Fleet to Attack that place, as also to  
 ‘ take *Graveline*, which they offered to deliver up to  
 ‘ *France*: That nevertheless great care was to be taken  
 ‘ least these Troops should occasion an open Rupture,  
 ‘ and for that Reason it wou’d be better to send them by  
 ‘ Sea, than by Land.

The Baron *de Charnace*, Ambassadour to the *States-General*, offer’d them the Troops above-mention’d, and the Continuation of a Million of Livres for a year. The *States* made some difficulty at first to accept of these offers; but not being able to adjust Affairs with the *Spaniards*, they grew weary of so tedious and tiresome a Negotiation. They gave certain Articles in Writing, to which they demanded to have an Answer in Fifteen days; and if this were not done, they declared they wou’d hear no mention of a Truce. Upon this the Agents of *Spain* desiring a longer time, the *States* rather chose to receive two thirds of a Million in ready Money, which *Charnace* offer’d them, than to wait any longer for the uncertain Resolutions of the *Spaniards*.

Thus the *Dutch* Army took the Field, and began the War afresh by the taking of *Rimberg*, which Surrendered on the 4th of *June*. In the mean time the *Spaniards* discover’d the Conspiracy that had been agitated by some of the Nobility in *Flanders*, who kept a secret Correspondence with the *French*, and by making Examples of some, kept the rest in their Duty.

And now *France* (properly speaking) was neither in Peace, nor Open War with the House of *Austria*, and the Two Crowns were inclin’d to follow that side which carried the greatest Advantages with it. All this while the *Spaniards* and *French* crossed one anothers Designs by turns, as far as was possible; But the Count-Duke who Govern’d *Spain*, being nothing comparable in dexterity to the Cardinal-Duke, who was, as it were, the Soul of all the Counsels of *France*; the Affairs of  
*Spain*

1633. Spain went every day worse and worse. To prevent a Communication between the States of the House of Austria, the Duke of Rohan, who had Resided at Venice, ever since the Peace was concluded with the Huguenots, had Orders sent him to repair to the Country of the Grisons, in quality of the King's Ambassadour with those People, and of Lieutenant-General of the Troops that were design'd to be rais'd there, in order to secure himself of all the Passes of the *Valteline*. The Spaniards immediately complain'd of this Infraction, as well as of several others, and made a Proposal to France to enter into a Negotiation to prevent the dangerous consequences which a Misunderstanding might produce. The Cardinal openly declar'd to the Spanish Ambassadour, That France desired to see a General Peace establish'd upon sure foundations, and to preserve that which they had at present with Spain. He added, That the King was extreamly glad to hear that the Ambassadour had full Power to Treat; but the Ambassadour Answer'd, That he had no Commission to Propose any thing, but upon the Foot of the Treaties of *Querasque* and *Ratisbone*. The Nuncio's vainly Interpos'd to Accommodate the Differences between the Two Crowns, and soon perceiv'd, that all these General Discourses of a Peace, and a Good Understanding, which they pretended on both sides, were onely so many Discourses in the Air, which were purposely Trum-ped-up to gain Time, till they saw what Resolutions were to be taken. The Spaniards pretended, that the French, in case they design'd to observe the Treaties of *Querasque* and *Ratisbone*, ought to deliver up *Pignerol*, to abandon *Casal*, and the Passes of the *Valteline*; to draw their Garrisons out of *Treves*, and other places, which they held in that Archbishoprick; to restore those which they had taken from the Duke of *Lorraine*, and to meddle no more with the Affairs of the Empire. To this the French Answer'd, That they were ready to recall the Troops they had in *Montferrat*, and in the Country of the *Grisons*, so soon as they were secured that the Governour of *Milan* would not think any more either of seizing *Casal*, or the Passes of the *Valteline*: That as for *Pignerol*, they had immediately put the



the Treary of *Querasque* into execution; and that if the Duke of *Savoy* had since sold it to the Crown of *France*, they cou'd not see what exceptions cou'd fairly be made against it, since the *Spaniards* were allow'd to buy *Final* and *Menaco*, and several other places, which depended neither upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, nor the Dutchy of *Milan*: That *Pignerol* was one of the Dependencies of *Dauphine*; and that since it was now reunited to the Crown, the King wou'd never suffer it to be dismembred from it: That some of the places in *Lorraine* likewise were sold to the King, and others, by way of caution, intrusted in his hands for a certain time: That the Duke had been an enemy to himself, by designing a mischief to *France*, which cou'd not otherwise preserve her self from him: That as for what respected *Triers*, and some other places in that Arch-bishoprick, if they had not fallen into His Majesty's hands, they must of necessity have fallen into those of the *Swedes*; and that it was much better both for the Catholick Religion, as for several other Reasons, that they shou'd be in the hands of *France*: That the Elector had implor'd his Protection, when he saw his States upon the point of being lost, and the House of *Austria* cou'd not hinder it: That the King was very much griev'd to see *Germany* in the condition it was in at present, but that it was the consequence of the Invasion which the *Spaniards* design'd to make in *Italy*; and that nevertheless the King had interposed, as a Mediator, between the *Swedes* and the House of *Austria*, if he had seen that House in a disposition to have kept the Peace elsewhere, and not to make any Attempts against *France*.

These were the Reasons which the Ministers of *France* made use of to justify the King's Conduct in this conjuncture; and, in the mean time, they forgot nothing which might irritate the Enemies of the House of *Austria* against her. They promised the States-General of the *United-Provinces* to carry on the War; and they sent Money to the Duke of *Roban* to distribute among the *Grisons* who complained they were not paid, and to make new Levies, in order to secure the Passes.

They complain'd in *France*, that the Duke of *Lorraine* made every day new Infractions of the Treary of *Liver-*



1633. *dun.* It was said, That he raised Troops, and then disbanded them upon the Frontiers, that so they might pass into the Imperial or Spanish service; nay, that he gave them leave to make Levies in his Dominions. He had surprized *Molseim*, and ravag'd the Territory about *Strasburg*, *Deuxponts*, and *Sarbruck*. He had obtained *Saverne* and *Dachstein*, for Payment (as 'twas pretended) of an old Debt of Two hundred thousand Crowns; but what offended the Cardinal the most, was, that it came to be known that ever since the preceding year, *Monsieur* had consummated his Marriage with the Princess *Margaret*, second Sister to the Duke; which had been manag'd so secretly, that not so much as his Domesticks knew any thing of the matter. \* The Count *de Vaudemont*, and the Princess of *Phaltsburg* had made up this Match; and it was a long while before it came to be discover'd. Although the Duke of *Lorraine* had wholly left all Correspondences that displeased the King, and especially that which he had formerly kept with the D. of *Orleans*, yet he had all along maintain'd it in private; and the Cardinal who was resolv'd to bring *Monsieur* to such a pass, that he must intirely depend upon him, and who looked upon him as the principal support of the Queen-Mother, cou'd not pardon those that assist-ed him in any manner whatsoever.

† Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card Lib. 4.  
Cap. 37.

Things were in this condition, when the King sent *Guron* to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to reproach him with his Violations of the Treaty of *Liverdun*, and to demand Satisfaction of him for it. The Duke being inform'd of his coming, conceal'd himself so well in *Nancy*, where he made his Residence, that no body cou'd tell *Guron* where he was: So that this Envoy was oblig'd to return to *Metz*, without delivering his Message. But soon after repenting of this unpolitick Trick, he sent *Guron* word, That he might find him such a day at *Luxeville*: however, when the Envoy of *France* came thither, he cou'd not bring him to any reasonable Terms.

\* The 10th of  
June.

This made the King resolve to Treat him like a Rebellious Vassal, and to Confiscate his Dutchy of *Bar*, because he had not done Homage to the Crown for it. The Attorney-General, after he had Assign'd this matter

## Book IV. *Cardinal de Richlieu.*

67

to the Parliament of *Paris*, pursu'd this Confiscation, which he obtain'd by a Decree on the 30th of July. 1633

At this time the Neighbourhood of the *Swedes* furnished the Duke with a pretence, to give out Commissions to raise Eight thousand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horse, hoping to be powerfully assisted by an Army of the Duke of *Feria*; who, crossing the Country of *Luxemburg*, had now joyn'd the Imperial Troops in *Alsatia*. Soon after, the *Swedes* intirely defeated the *Lorrain* Troops near *d'Haguenau*; and the Duke affrighted at this Accident, and the King's preparations, who Marched towards *Lorrain* at the Head of His Army, sent the Cardinal, his Brother, to meet His Majesty on the way, and appease Him.

This Prince went as far as \* *Chateau-Thierry*; where, on the very Night of his arrival he waited upon the King and Queen. Next day the Cardinal-Duke made him a Visit, and gave him abundance of civil words, but very small hopes as to the Affairs of the Duke his Brother. It was to no purpose that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* represented to him, That this Prince had an intention to keep the Treaty of *Liverdun*, and as little did it signifie to excuse the Infractions they reproached him with. The Minister of *Lewis* the XIII. answer'd, ' That they were heartily sorry to find that the Effects ' did not agree with his Promises, and that the King ' being now upon a Journey, was not in a condition to ' hear any Talk of Business: That in a few days His ' Majesty wou'd arrive at *Bar*, and that the Duke of ' *Lorrain* might inform him nearer at hand, which of ' the two ways, either that of Gentleness, or that of ' Force he wou'd have employ'd against him, that they ' might be secure of him for the future. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* protested, that the Duke was ready to surrender all the Places he held in *Alsatia* to the King; but this was not sufficient: and, to satisfy them that he wou'd break his Word no more with them, it was propos'd, That a *French* Garrison shou'd be left in *Nancy*, the most considerable Place in all his Dominions. Nay, the Cardinal his Brother offer'd to consent to the dissolution of the Marriage between his Sister

\* The 19th of August Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 663.

1 6 3. and the Duke of Orleans, and begg'd pardon for it. But the Cardinal-Duke told him, That this Reparation did not equal the Injury that had been done to the King, and that His Majesty found himself oblig'd to put the Duke of Lorraine out of a condition of being worse than his Word for the future; that for this end it was necessary the King shou'd have *Nancy* by way of Caution, which the Duke should forfeit for ever, that very moment he attempted any thing against France. The Cardinal of Lorraine reply'd; That this was all one as to propose to his Brother to lose the remainder of his Dominions, because such sort of Pawns are very rarely Deliver'd: That it wou'd be too mean-spirited a condescension in a Prince to stoop so low as voluntarily to strip himself of his Territories in the way of Negotiation; that it was too severe a Mortification to lose ones Honour and ones Country at the same time; and that let the War succeed never so ill, it was impossible for him to be a greater Sufferer: That Lorraine was the Half-way-House between France and the States of the House of Austria, and that the Dukes of Lorraine were consequently obliged in point of Interest, to preserve an Amity both with one and the other: That this caution which they proposed, wou'd so highly provoke the Emperour, upon whom the Dukedom of Lorraine depended, that he wou'd confiscate it, and put it under the Imperial Ban, which might happen at a juncture, when the King of France being employ'd elsewhere, wou'd not be in a condition to support him.

These Reasons, however specious they were, made no Impression upon the Cardinal-Duke, who was resolved to ruine the House of Lorraine. And so the Cardinal of Lorraine went, in all hast, the very same day, to carry this ill News to his Brother, and the King advanced with his Forces as he had given this Prince to understand. In the mean time the Cardinal-Duke advised the King not to lose this Opportunity of Conquering Lorraine, in case the Duke made the least difficulty to deliver up those places which they demand'd. The Cardinal arriv'd with the King at St. Dizier the 23d of August, upon the Frontiers of Champagne, where

where the Cardinal of *Lorraine* sent him word, That if he wou'd give him his Niece *Combalet* in Marriage, his Brother. and he wou'd consent to leave *Nancy* in the King's hand, because they should be then secure of its Restitution. Whether the Cardinal of *Richlieu* thought that this was onely a pretence, or that he had some other reason not to give his Assent to this Proposal; he thanked the Cardinal of *Lorraine* for the great honour he did him; and made Answer, 'That he should be sorry to have the World believe, that he had made the King go into *Lorraine* for his particular interest, as it wou'd be apt to believe, if he accepted the Honour which they did his Neice: That the Duke of *Lorraine* ought, before all things, to give the King satisfaction; and, after that, His Majesty wou'd see whether this Marriage wou'd be advantageous for His Service, and take his Measures accordingly.

In this juncture, the Cardinal-Duke represented to the King, 'That if he did not suddenly surprize the Duke of *Lorraine*, there wou'd be no likelihood of reducing him in a long time: That *Nancy* was a considerable place, regularly Fortifi'd, and not to be taken by force this Campaign: That it wou'd take up seven or eight Months to reduce it by a Blockade, and that abundance of things might happen in that interval: That a Peace might be made in *Germany*, and a Truce in *Flanders*, and that if it were so, the *Spaniards* wou'd be in a condition to make a powerful diversion: That, to Block up *Nancy*, it wou'd require Twenty thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse; besides that there must be a small Army to attend the King's Person, which wou'd demand a prodigious expence: That, on the other hand, to suffer tamely an Affront in State-matters, was the ready way to occasion a greater: That Money was of no use to His Majesty, if he did not employ it for his Necessities; that is to say, to support his Reputation, or to enlarge his Dominions: That a Million of Gold was sufficient to bear the extraordinary Expences of this Expedition: That he cou'd never expect a fairer opportunity; and that the War, which raged in all parts of *Germany*, made it impossible for her to prevent the



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total ruine of the Duke of *Lorraine*, especially since in all appearance it seemed to be long-lived: That the Affairs of the *Low-Countries* were not any more inclined to a Truce: That all great Enterprises have their Difficulties; but that this was attended with very few, the Duke not being able to make head with his Forces against those of His Majesty; and the Allies were so much busied for themselves, that they cou'd not come to his Relief: That the Duke wou'd be always in the same mind he was then, that is, devoted to the House of *Austria*, from which no considerations cou'd disengage him, and that he onely wanted an opportunity to joyn with it to the detriment of *France*: That if the Duke was not ruin'd, the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd infallibly hold good, which wou'd be the occasion of an everlasting War. That a Man ought always to be upon his Guard, to protect himself not onely from open violence, but from the secret practises of others: That on the other hand, if the Duke was once ruin'd, the Marriage of *Monsieur* wou'd break of course; and that *Puilaurens* had told the Abbot of *Elbene*, That he should not be sorry to see him reduced to such a pass: That *Puilaurens* was too much an humble Servant to his Interest, and *Monsieur* had too little Resolution to stick to a Woman, by whom he should gain no advantage, and who besides wou'd be a charge to him: That by this means *Monsieur* wou'd be brought to a necessity to find out a way to get himself reconciled to the King, by offering to take another Wife; whereas so long as the Duke of *Lorraine* subsisted, *Monsieur* wou'd never think of an Accommodation. That *Nancy* was the best Rampart which *France* cou'd oppose on that side to the Attempts of the House of *Austria*, and that she wou'd be deliver'd from all that she had reason to apprehend from the Implacable hatred of the Duke of *Lorraine*, by taking this place.

The King relishing the Cardinal's Reasons for the Conquest of *Lorraine*, advanced as far as *Bar*, where he left the Queen, and the other Ladies of the Court. From thence he Marched to *Pont-a-Mousson*, where he arrived on the 28th of *August*. In this Interval the *Lorraine* Regiment of *Florenville*, which wou'd have thrown it self in-



to Nancy, was defeated by the Marquis *de S. Chamond*, 1 6 3 3. whom the King sent before, with part of the Army, to Block up that place. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* also came to *Pont-a-Mousson*, where he offer'd the King to put into his hands for Security, *Saverne*, *Dachstein*, and *la Mothe*, with the Person of the Princess *Margaret*. The King accepted the latter; but, instead of the Places that were offer'd him, he still demanded *Nancy*, which was infinitely of greater importance.

At last the Cardinal of *Lorraine* told *Richlieu*, That the Duke of *Lorraine* was so unfortunate, that he cou'd not engage His Majesty to repose any confidence in him, he was resolv'd to Resign his Dominions to him the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, in case the King approved of it. *Richlieu* Answer'd, 'That he did not believe the King 'wou'd oppose this Resignation, if the Duke was fully 'resolved to put it in Execution; and, that he, for his 'part, had reason to wish it might be so, his past-con- 'dult giving them hopes that he wou'd be better affect- 'ed towards *France*; but, the Mischief on't was, that 'this remedy was uneffectual, because as the Duke was 'of a wavering and fickle temper, he might take a Fan- 'cy to reassume his Dominions, which wou'd be an easie 'matter for him to effect by recovering *Nancy*, at a jun- 'cture when the King happened to be employ'd else- 'where.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* found by this, that it was not possible to save *Nancy*. It was some time ago since he had demanded a Passport of the King to come and go, and fetch his Domesticks and Equipage out of the City: The King had granted it him, and the Duke his Brother, and he having consider'd, that the Princess *Margaret* being the principal occasion of the War, might be in danger, if *Nancy* was taken while he was there; they resolv'd to contrive her escape out of the City, and afterwards out of *Lorraine*, to send her into *Flanders* to her Husband.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* got her disguis'd in Man's Apparel, and carried her in his Coach out of the Town. At last an old Gentleman, and two Soldiers dress'd up like Lacquets, conducted her through several Quarters of the Royal Army, without meeting any stop by the

1633 way; and after they had Travell'd a Dozen Leagues in the Night, they arriv'd by break of day at *Tbionville*, a place belonging to the King of *Spain*. From thence she Writ to the *Infanta*, to the Queen-Mother, and to *Monsieur*, to demand a Guard, and an Equipage she had occasion for, to come to *Brussels*. The Duke of *Orleans* received this News with wonderful joy, and the Queen-Mother was no less pleas'd, although she lived in no very good understanding with him, because she imagin'd that having a Daughter-in-Law wholly opposite to the Cardinal's Party, she should, at last, Triumph over all his Artifices. They sent to this Princess all she demanded, and *Monsieur* went to meet her as far as *Namur*.

The King being at *S. Nicholas*, where he arriv'd the 24th of that Month, received Advice, That the Princess *Margaret* had made her escape into *Flanders*, in the manner as I have already related it. This News exceedingly displeased him as well as the Cardinal, whether for the consequences which might attend the flight of this Princess, or because it vexed them to be Tricked by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, in whose Integrity they had reposed a Confidence. 'Tis true, *S. Chamond* had been ordered to examine all the Cardinal's Coaches, but that, wherein the Princess was, pass'd by one Morning before he was up, and was not at all Examined. The King being angry at this Trick that was play'd him, sent Word to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, That since the Negotiation was broke, he design'd that the Passports he had given him shou'd be Revoked; and that if he arriv'd in the City, he must expect to be made a Prisoner of War. However, the King gave him leave to come to *Neufville*; where the Cardinal of *Lorraine* confessed to him, That he had contributed to his Sister's Escape; but then he assured him, That she was still in the Dominions of the Duke his Brother, and that he might dispose of her Person.

Next day they learnt the quite contrary News, and *Nancy* being Invested on all sides, they began to Work on the Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, because they were afraid the Siege wou'd last a long while, and that the Duke of *Feria* and *Aldringen* wou'd  
come

come to relieve the place. But the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was of a light and changeable disposition, had not provided for the Defence of this City, though the preservation or loss of his Dominions absolutely depended upon it.

Thus, after some Proposals, to no purpose, the Cardinal his Brother was obliged to Sign a Treaty on the 6th of *September*, by which he promis'd to deliver *Nancy* within three days into the King's hands, to keep such a Garrison there as he shou'd think fitting, till such time as his own good Behaviour, or the Peace of *Germany* should convince His Majesty, that he had nothing to apprehend on that side. He consented besides, That the Marriage of the Princess *Margaret* should be declared null, in all the Forms, and that within Fifteen days she should be put into His Majesty's hands, who had agreed, that she shou'd tarry at *Nancy*, that he might inform himself upon the place, of all the Circumstances of her Marriage.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* desir'd permission of the King, to goe and find out the Duke his Brother, that he might Ratifie this Treaty. In the mean time the King took *Charmes*, and the Duke retired to *Remiremont*, from which place he sent his Brother back again to the King, to endeavour to gain as much time as he cou'd. But the Succours he expected not coming, he had a mind to go and Treat in Person with the King, an Indiscretion scarce to be parallel'd in History. To this end having demanded a Passport, which was immediately granted him, he arriv'd at *Charmes* on the 18th of *September* with 800 Horse. There he Negotiated for the space of Three days with the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Bich*, who manag'd him so dexterously, that on the Third he Ratifi'd the Treaty in the form they desired. It was agreed that *Nancy* should continue in the King's hands for Four years; however, with this proviso, That if the Duke deliver'd up the Princess *Margaret* to the King in Three Months, and consented that her Marriage was Null from that very moment; and besides, if he observed the rest of the Treaty, which confirmed that of *Vie*, the King should then surrender *Nancy*, without farther delay, after he had demolish'd the

2633. the Fortifications of the place, if he should so think fit. The Duke promis'd that he wou'd do all that lay in his power to get his Sister out of *Monsieur's* hands, and deliver her to the King.

\* *Paris Mem.*  
G. 2. p. 18.

In the mean time this short-sighted \* Prince imagin'd, That after he had paid the Cardinal thus with fine words, he might retire without putting *Nancy* actually into the hands of the King. He had forbidden the *Marquis de Mury*, who Commanded in that place for him, to open the Gates; whatever Letters he might Write to him, unless he saw a certain Mark, which they had agreed upon. Thus although he Writ to have the Gates open'd to the King's People, yet since the Mark was not in the Letter, the Governor refus'd to obey. The Cardinal who was more cunning than he, had, at first, some Suspicion of him, that he design'd to withdraw; and, under a pretence of Treating him like a Great Prince, the King set his own Guards upon the House where he Lodg'd.

The Duke was sensible of it; and they made no difficulty to tell him the Reason of it; so that having no hopes to escape, he Writ to *Nancy*, and sent the Mark in the Letter. The King's Garrison enter'd the Town on the 24th of September, seized all the considerable Posts, built a sort of a Fort upon the Bastions of the old City, and disarm'd the Inhabitants, who were too well-affected to the Duke. It was of the highest importance for the King to have *Nancy* in his hands, as to the Affairs of *Germany*; and the Duke of *Lorraine* was forced by this Surrendry to comply for the future with whatever *France* Proposed.

While the Cardinal-Duke stay'd at *Charmes*, he was desirous to see, whether the offer which the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had made him about Marrying his Neice, was sincere. For this end he shew'd extraordinary Civilities to *Chamvallon*, who had appear'd very zealous to have the March concluded, that so he might engage him to reassume this Negotiation. As the Prince of *Lorraine*, when he threw up his Cardinal's-Cap, wou'd be likewise oblig'd to resign all the Ecclesiastical Benefices he possess'd; so it was convenient on the other side, that he should have an Estate sufficient to support his Dignity.

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The Cardinal-Duke promis'd to give his Neice a vast Portion, and to make her his Heir of the greatest part of his Wealth; and therefore he expected that the Duke of *Lorrain* shou'd settle upon his Brother Land, to the value of a Hundred thousand Crowns a year, that so he might be enabled to bear the Title of Duke, which, together with the above-mention'd Revenue, shou'd descend to the Issue of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, even though the Duke shou'd happen to have Children. If the Duke wou'd consent to this, the Cardinal of *Richlieu* oblig'd himself to employ all his Interest with the King, to get the Dutchy of *Bav* surrendred to him, for which he shou'd do homage, not in the Name of his Wife, as it had been pretended, but as Rightful Heir; however, with this proviso, that he shou'd immediately after surrender up this Dutchy to his Brother; that he shou'd assign him the Hundred thousand Crowns upon its Dependancies; and that in case it was not enough to make up that Sum, he shou'd annex some Neighbouring-Lands: as on the other hand, if it was more than enough, the over-plus shou'd belong to him. The Cardinal wou'd not speak to the King about this Affair himself, but he got it to be propos'd by the other Ministers of State, and its probable it had succeeded, if the Duke of *Lorrain* cou'd have been prevail'd upon to cut off so considerable a part of his Dominions, as that was, which they demanded of him. But so soon as the King had made himself Master of *Nancy*, and retaken the way to *Paris*, this Negotiation was interrupted.

It seems that ever since the Spring,\* the Cardinal had some thoughts of sending the Queen-Mother into *Italy*, and that the Duke of *Florence* had express'd himself, that he was ready to invite her to come and live with him, if the King thought it convenient: But the Cardinal observing, that the War was begun afresh in the *Low-Countries*, with as much fury as ever, changed his Mind, because from that moment he ceased to fear the *Spaniards*, and believ'd that this Princess wou'd onely perplex their Affairs, by tarrying in their Country. She continued Indisposed all the Summer, and the King sent frequently to visit her, as well to discover their designs, as to pay that

\* *Siri Memo.*  
Rec. T. 7. p.  
679, &c.



1633. that respect to her in appearance, which he cou'd not in honour omit. This gave occasion to the Queen-Mother to Write to the King, and speak of a Reconciliation; but as she was so far from adjusting matters with the Cardinal, that she hardly ever mention'd him without Injurious Language, there were small hopes that she should see her Son again.

† *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7. p.  
633

*Puillartens* also made some Proposals of an Accommodation, to obtain the Return of *Monsieur*. He procur'd the Abbot of *Elbene* to demand † of the Cardinal the meanest of his Relations, and promised to do all that lay in his Power to engage *Monsieur* to return to his Duty. But the Marriage of this Prince with the Princess *Margaret*, put a stop to these Negotiations, and the King solemnly declared this Alliance to be null, as having been contracted without his consent.

\* In the  
Math of  
October.

The King, at his return from *Lorrain*, made some stay at *Metz*, and during this time the new Parliament of that City condemned one *Alfeiston* to be broke on the Wheel alive. He had confess'd, it seems, that he had a Design to kill Cardinal *Richlieu*, if he pass'd through such a place. It was not long since he came from *Brussels*, with two more in his Company, who had belonged to the Queen-Mother's Guards; nay, the Horse he rode upon came out of her Stables. 'Tis said, That as he was going to the place of Punishment, he accus'd Father *Chanteloube*, and the Parliament summon'd him with some more. At the same time, under pretence of Respect to the Queen-Mother, but in effect to defame her, they sent her the Horse back again, and desired her, in His Majesties Name, not to suffer any such wicked designs to be laid in her House for the future; because that besides the Person of the Cardinal was infinitely dear to him; such profligate wretches, as this was, were capable of making several attempts of the like nature. This was an effectual course to improve that Animosity which was already too great, because Father *Chanteloube* was the Principal Confident of the Queen-Mother. However, to secure the Cardinal's \* Life from any such Attempts, the King gave him, besides the Guards he had already assign'd him, a Company of an Hundred Musqueteers, whom he chose out of a great number of Persons that came to offer him their Service, It

† *Aubery's*  
*Life of the*  
*Cardinal*, lib.  
4. c. 47.

It was bel'ev'd that the Cardinal did not in the least desire the Queen-Mother's return to Court, since after what had pass'd between them he cou'd not expect to stand over-secure, if that Princess came there again. On the other hand, Father *Chantelcube*, who had a mind to make his advantage of that Favour she showed him, advised her to stay in *Flanders*, or at least somewhere out of *France*, till they offer'd her honourable conditions, such as they had done some years before, by the Treaty of *Angoulême*. It was no difficult matter for him to persuade the Queen, who passionately desir'd it, that the King wou'd at last be constrain'd to come to her Terms. The Cardinal, on the contrary, who was inform'd of every thing that pass'd, counsell'd the King to stick inflexibly to his Resolutions, since His own Authority was so nearly concern'd, which wou'd sensibly diminish, if he once permitted the Queen His Mother to Capitulate with Him, or gave her leave to return on any other conditions than as she entirely rely'd upon his Generosity. But as it was Scandalous to keep this Princess so long out of the Kingdom, and the King sometimes felt a Remorse upon that score, the Cardinal told him, That he ought not onely to remember, that he was a Son, but also that he was a King, and that he lay under greater obligations to procure the repose and tranquillity of his Kingdom, than to satisfy the Passions of the Queen His Mother. By this Maxim which took it for granted, that the Wellfare of the State was incompatible with satisfying the demands of *Maria de Medicis*, he hindred the King from suffering himself to be touched by those Sentiments which Nature implants in all Children towards their Parents.

Father † *Joseph* discoursing one day with *Gondi*, told him, much about this time, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd return, she must give Security to the King beforehand, that she wou'd not attempt any thing in the Kingdom against His Majesty's Service, which necessarily demanded, that the Cardinal shou'd continue in the Ministry. When once this Security was given, Father *Joseph* did not question but the King wou'd pay her all manner of Respect, and that he wou'd show her the same Acknowledgments as he had ever done when he

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† *Siri, Ibid.*  
p. 698.

1 6 2 3. was most in her favour. Father *Joseph* made this security to consist in the Queen's wholly abandoning her Servants, but especially Father *Chanteloube*, to the King's Justice, after which she was to leave her self to his discretion. He flattered, that His Majesty, so soon as he saw her discard those People, who had all along suggested ill Counsel to her, wou'd treat her with all the Kindness that she cou'd desire from a Respectful Son. Now it was so Infamous for a Princess, as the Queen-Mother was, to Sacrifice her most Ancient Servants after this blind manner, to the Cardinal's Revenge, and of so dangerous an example to all those that might hereafter attempt to serve her, that 'twas believ'd she wou'd never be induc'd to consent to it, and that they propos'd it to her with no other prospect, but to make her despair of a Reconciliation.

\* The 3<sup>d</sup> Sir.  
ri. *Ibid.* p.  
699.

† The 6th of  
Novemb.

Towards the beginning of \* *November*, she sent *Villiers S. Genes* to the King, in appearance to Congratulate him upon His happy return from *Lorraine*, but, in effect, to see if there was any way left to induce His Majesty to consent to Her return upon tolerable conditions, because she was weary of that disrespectful Treatment, which she received from *Monfieur* and *Puilaurens*. The Gentleman whom she sent upon this Message, had Audience of the King † immediately, and told him; He was ordered by the Queen to complain to His Majesty of *Monfieur's* disrespectful behaviour to Her, since he daily put some affront or other upon Her: That she was certainly perswaded that he did not do this of his own proper Inclination, but onely by the Advice of *Puilaurens*: That she beseeched the King to take care of His health, not onely for the Love of the Queen, but likewise for the Love of Her; since she wou'd rather choose to die, than fall under the Tyranny of *Puilaurens*. That she desired His Majesty to believe, that she had no share in the Enterprizes of *Monfieur*, and that his last Expedition into *Languedoc* was without Her knowledge.

The King Answer'd; That he was extreamly sorry at the Ill Treatment the Queen His Mother received from the Duke of *Orleans*; but that she had never fallen into these Inconveniences if she had followed his good Advice,

Advice, and that of her most faithful Servants! That he formerly believed that she had a Kindness for him, but that since she had discover'd so much Ill-will towards him, he cou'd hardly perswade himself that she had really that Affection for him as she pretended: That he knew well enough how far she was concern'd in the Affair of *Languedoc*, since she had Pawn'd her Jewels to furnish the Rebels with Arms: That it afflicted him to see there was no Security for Him in *France*, if his Mother returned thither, since those disaffected Persons, that were about her, began to Cabal more than ever.

At last he enquired of *Villiers*, If he had any Orders to see the Cardinal? *Villiers* answer'd, No: but said, That if he met him, he wou'd not fail to pay his Respects to him, although the Queen was still incens'd against him. The King reply'd, That if it was true that this Princess loved her Eldest Son, as she said she did, she wou'd likewise love the Cardinal for the signal Services he had done the Crown since the Reduction of *Rochelle*; but that so long as she kept such People as *Chantelaupe*, and *Madam du Fargis* about her, it was to no purpose to expect any Reconciliation. Upon this *Villiers* said, That the Queen knew *du Targis* for what she was valuable: and the King answer'd, That she was one of those Vipers of *Lyon*, who, together with the Duke of *Bellegarde*, *Marillac* the Keeper of the Seals, and such like blessed Instruments, had seduced the Queen-Mother into all these Inconveniences.

It was discover'd by *Villiers's* Discourse, that the Q. Mother was really provok'd against *Puilaurens*, from which 'twas thought this advantage might be drawn as to oblige him to return to his duty, and to make more modest demands for his Master; and, at the same time, it was no less plain that she was enraged against the Cardinal. \* However she sent to acquaint the King, in Answer to some Proposals she had receiv'd from *France*, That to let him see how well she loved him, and to facilitate an access for those persons whom she wou'd send to him, she was willing to forget all the ill Offices the Cardinal had done her, nay, even to have an Affection for him, in consideration of His Majesty: That nevertheless

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7. B.  
692



1. 6 3 3. less she wou'd not be forced to part with the meanest Servant she had, and much less with Father *Chanteloube*, who had faithfully served her in things of the greatest Importance, but that he wou'd quit her Service of his own accord, as soon as ever the King commanded him to do so: That if she might be so happy as to procure an Accommodation, she wou'd manage it by her self, without appearing in the Affairs of Monsieur; and that *Puilaurens* had told her, That she might do so if she pleas'd.

The King, before he dismiss'd *Villiers*, told him, That he was heartily sorry at the Vexations which the Queen his Mother had met in *Flanders*; but that if she impartially examin'd her self, she wou'd soon find, that she alone was the occasion of them: That if she wou'd deliver her Evil Counsellors up to him, in order to their Punishment, as they deserv'd, and love the true Servants of the Crown, as she was in duty oblig'd, then there wou'd be no room to suspect that she continued longer in the evil disposition that possessed her when she left *France*: That *Chanteloube* had Written, That she wou'd never be reconcil'd; and, in one of his Letters (which had been sent to the King) had made Merry with the Visit which he (meaning *Villiers*) had made him; and that while the Queen encourag'd such a notorious Hypocrite as he was, it cou'd not be imagin'd that her intentions were sincere. All the King's Discourses, as also those of the Cardinal's Creatures, tended to the same purpose; which was, That the Queen-Mother shou'd abandon all her Domesticks to the Indignation of the Minister, and receive others of his Nomination, before any thing was concluded: But they did not believe that this Princess, who was full as haughty and obstinate as the Cardinal, wou'd ever make such low condescensions. If the King spoke ill of Father *Chanteloube*, the Queen was not behind-hand with him in railing at the Cardinal; and by the means of the Abbot of *S. Germain* her Secretary, she publish'd every day bitter Satyrs against him, several Volumes of which are still extant.

Towards



Towards the end of the year the Cardinal of Lorraine came to Paris about his Brother's Affairs, and to Treat of his own Marriage with the Neice of Cardinal Richlieu. The Prince of Lorraine shou'd a mighty desire to come to a speedy conclusion; because the Interest of his Family requir'd it. He obtain'd permission of the Uncle to visit his Neice, whom he found to be extremely agreeable; So that now nothing more was left to doe than to come to Conditions on both sides. Richlieu positively stuck to it; That the Cardinal of Lorraine shou'd have a Hundred thousand Crowns per Annum settled upon him; and the Cardinal of Lorraine Article'd, That in consideration of this Marriage, they shou'd restore all the Places that had been taken from his Brother, and leave every thing in the same condition as they found it. The House of Lorraine hoped by this Match to be able to engage the King to own the Marriage of Monsieur with the Princess Margarett as good and valid. But upon these Matters great difficulties arose on both sides.

The Duke of Lorraine had an inexpressible aversion to France, and to the Cardinal, which was the reason why they treated him so severely, and was not of a temper to embrace any Party, merely upon the account of its being the safest. He had likewise great Disputes about the Confinnes of his Country with France, which did her self Justice by force of Arms. The Cardinal of Lorraine had been Promis'd long before to a Princess of his own Family, and Sister to the Dutchess, who, if the other Match went forward, must be sent to a Monastery. On the other side, it was not very reputable for the King, after he had been at so prodigious an Expence, and had made so great a battle, to surrender all back again to the Duke of Lorraine, only in consideration of making an Advantageous Marriage for the Neice of his Chief Minister. Besides, the Cardinal had reason to fear, that the World wou'd surmise that he concluded his own Affairs at the King's Expence; and that His Majesty wou'd entertain some jealous thoughts at his designing the Grandeur of his Family. The Marriage too of the Duke of Orleans was no small obstacle, since it was not probable, that they wou'd wholly reconcile themselves,

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However, this Alliance seem'd so advantageous to the Cardinal, that 'twas generally believ'd he desir'd it, although he answer'd the Prince of *Lorraine* coldly enough, That his Neice was obstinately resolv'd to embrace a Religious Life; and that it was not possible for him to alter her Inclinations. But this was only an Artifice to secure himself the more of the Prince of *Lorraine*, whom he look'd upon not to be so cordial in this Affair as he desir'd, to endeavour, if he cou'd obtain of them, more Advantageous Conditions; but, above all, to see whether the House of *Lorraine* wou'd yield up, or dispose their best Places in the King's hands. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* perceiving *Richlieu's* design, resolv'd to use the same Policy, and seem'd to be indifferent on his side, by pretending to go to *Lorraine*, to know his final Resolution there; though at the same time he did not discontinue to solicit this Affair privately at Court. If they came to a conclusion, he hop'd, by that means, to procure better Conditions; and if the Negotiation happen'd to be wholly broke off, the Cardinal cou'd not complain of the House of *Lorraine*, which had done him the honour to ask his Neice in Marriage. As he was ready to depart, the Cardinal-Duke sent him word, That in a Months time he shou'd receive a Positive Answer, whether *Madam de Combalet* resolv'd to Marry the second time or no. All the World was sensible, that if her Uncle had thought it expedient for her to Marry again, and especially one that was a Prince, she wou'd never have wanted much entreaty; but the Reasons above-mention'd stood in the way, and hinder'd this Marriage from being concluded so hastily. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* \* parted at last without coming to any determination as to the Marriage: he only carry'd to the Duke his Brother the Restitution of the Revenues of the Duchy of *Bar*, and a Prorogation of Two Months for him to do Homage to the King for them.

\* The 20th of December.

All this while the Queen-Mother liv'd in no great amity with the Duke of *Orleans*, through the indilcreet management of Father *Chanteloube* and *Puilaurens*, who, in stead of reconciling them, made the breach wider, and

set them at a greater distance. Thus the Mother and the Son, who were incapable of finding out of themselves what was their true Interest, became the sport of their Favourites, who engaged them in all their quarrels and caprices. But it happen'd unfortunately for the Queen-Mother and *Gaston*, that the Persons that managed them, fell infinitely short of *Louis's* Minister in Politics, although perhaps they were not inferior to him in Malice. The Queen-Mother who had consented to the Match of the Princess *Mary*, prevail'd with her to persuade her Husband to Discard *Paularens*, whom this Lady, for her part, did not love, because he had talk'd of getting her Marriage dissolved. But the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd not hear any mention of it, although they reproach'd to him, That the Cardinal had half-ruin'd him over to his Party. 'Tis certain, that Minister had promised him one of his Relations to secure him against all dangers he might apprehend, upon condition he wou'd influence *Monsieur* absolutely to throw himself upon the King's Bounty, of which they promis'd he should find very surprising effects. But they chiefly desired that he wou'd submit to His Majesty's good Pleasure, in relation to his Marriage, either by delivering his Spouse into his hands, conformable to what her Brothers had promis'd, or by leaving her in *Flanders*, if she wou'd not follow him into *France*. It was likewise insist'd upon, That *Paularens* shou'd wholly disengage him from the Interests of the Queen-Mother, as well as of the *Spaniards*.

*Paularens* had, in a great measure, brought over the Duke of *Orleans* to what was demand'd of him; but, as this Prince was not able to conceal it from his Wife and his Mother, the Queen reproach'd him with so scandalous a Treaty, wherein *Paularens* onely consider'd how to obtain the Cardinal's Favour, to the great prejudice of his Master. *Paularens* perceiving that the Duke had chang'd his opinion, attributed this Alteration to *Father Chantelaupe*, and the Queen-Mother, with whom he talk'd about it with that Insolence which was peculiar to him, but they required his Language as he deserved.

1633.

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\* T. 1<sup>st</sup> of  
Decem.\* Siri Mem.  
\* cc. T. 7.  
\* 7<sup>th</sup> of  
Decem.

The *Spaniards* openly espoused the Party of the Princess *Margaret*, whom they received as the Wife of the Duke of *Orleans*, and for whom they had been at a great expence, as well as for him: But the Infanta happening to die at this \* time, obliged them to think of other things. However it was perceived plainly enough, that *Monsieur* was weary of *Flanders*, and the Queen-Mother and Madam were afraid that this inconstant Prince wou'd abandon them at the first opportunity.

The Cardinal who was fully inform'd of all, † Summon'd a Council before the King, to Advise what Measures were to be taken in this conjuncture, and whether the King ought to be reconcil'd to the Queen his Mother, or to the Duke of *Orleans*. This Minister, according to his custom, made a long Harangue to persuade His Majesty, That it was his Interest to grant no satisfaction either to one, or the other. He told him, ' That the Queen-Mother had appeared long ago ill-affected to the State: That before she left *France* the King had offer'd her very reasonable Terms of Reconciliation, as Places, Governments, and so forth, by which she might easily perceive, that he had no intention to use her with any Rigour: That nevertheless she had fled to the declared Enemies of the Crown, which she had never done, but out of a Principle of Revenge, and because she never design'd to come to any sort of Accommodation: That she cou'd not be ignorant that her joyning with the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd displease the King, and that all good *Frenchmen* must blame her for having recourse to the *Spaniards*: That since she had broke through all these considerations, it was a sure Indication, that she had an implacable hatred to *France*: That her Actions notoriously contradicted her words, in which she protested that she had no design against the State, but that she was full of Dissimulation, as visibly appear'd in the whole Conduct of her Life: That it wou'd be no advantage to the King to be Reconciled with her, and call her home; but that on the contrary, several great Inconveniences might happen upon it, because it wou'd be then a harder matter to persuade *Monsieur* to return: That her falling out with him and his *Domesticks*, ' was



' was the most forcible Reason that induced *Puilaurens* I 6 3 1  
 ' to advise his Master to avoid those places, where he  
 ' might find the ill effects of the Mortal hatred of that  
 ' Princes, and therefore if she came into *France*, *Puilaurens*  
 ' *rens* wou'd have the less inclination to carry the Duke  
 ' of *Orleans* thither: That, supposing *Monsieur* wou'd  
 ' not, upon this, be unwilling to return, yet they were  
 ' likely to gain nothing by his coming home, since it  
 ' might easily so happen, that the Queen and he wou'd  
 ' joyn afresh together for the better execution of their  
 ' wicked designs: That the King wou'd find it a harder  
 ' matter to Marry *Monsieur* again to whom he pleas'd,  
 ' and principally to the Princess *Mary of Gonzaga*, for  
 ' whom the Queen-Mother had an invincible aversion:  
 ' That the Tranquillity of the Kingdom wou'd be more  
 ' endanger'd, since those that had harbour'd any ill de-  
 ' signs wou'd certainly go and communicate them to the  
 ' Queen-Mother, whom they knew to be of a resolute  
 ' and revengeful temper, whereas they durst not repose  
 ' any confidence in the Duke of *Orleans*, who was known  
 ' to be inconstant: That the King wou'd not have the  
 ' same Peace of Mind, nor be in the same security as to  
 ' his Person: That he wou'd not be obey'd so punctu-  
 ' ally, since the ill-affected wou'd hope to be supported  
 ' by the Queen-Mother: That the Lives of His Ma-  
 ' jesty's Servants wou'd be in greater danger, because it  
 ' wou'd be an easier matter to destroy them near at hand,  
 ' than afar off: That though the Queen-Mother and  
 ' *Monsieur* were both of them to morrow in *France*, per-  
 ' fectly satisfy'd by the King, as to both their particu-  
 ' lars, and a Misunderstanding still continu'd between  
 ' them, it was certain that in three Months time they wou'd  
 ' be discontented, and wou'd as certainly reunite in their  
 ' discontents; whereas if *Monsieur* was in the Kingdom,  
 ' and the Queen out of it, it wou'd be difficult for them  
 ' to maintain any great correspondence together.

In this Advice we find the Cardinal's Interest con-  
 founded, with that of the King and Kingdom; but  
 we must do him the Justice to allow his Reasonings to  
 be solid enough, if we set down the word *Cardinal* all a-  
 long where he makes mention of *France*, or of the King.  
 The design of it manifestly tended to keep the Queen-  
 Mother



1 6 3 3. Mother at least out of the Kingdom : but as it wou'd have been too odious to publish to all the World, that her Son wou'd never be reconciled to her. The Council, in appearance, concluded the contrary ; but, at the bottom, 'twas the same thing, because they knew well enough, that this Princess wou'd not stoop so low as to do what they resolved to demand of her. It was therefore pretended, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd convince all People, that she had no hand in the Assassins, which some of her Servants had projected, by delivering the Authors of these Pernicious Counsels to Justice, the King wou'd give her leave to return into *France*, put her in full possession of her Jointure, and permit her to live in any of her Houses that were at a distance from the Court.

As for what related to *Monsieur*, the Cardinal observ'd, ' That this Prince's Absence was at present Advantageous to His Majesty ; but that the longer he tarried among the *Spaniards*, with whom he daily contracted a greater Friendship, the more it was to be feared, that he wou'd, one day, destroy in a moment, what had been doing for several years, with no little difficulty, for the welfare of the State : That however these ills were at a distance, whereas the Mischief which he might occasion, if he lived in *France*, and was infected to it, as he certainly was, wou'd be felt presently ; That if *Monsieur* came back into *France*, upon those Conditions the King had offer'd him, which, as they were honourable to himself, so they were not prejudicial to *France*, his return wou'd be advantageous to the Kingdom ; but that there was a great deal to fear, and but little to hope, if he came back upon those Terms, which *Puilaurens* had insisted upon the last Summer, viz. the Government of *Auvergne*, and *Macon*, to be the Residence of *Monsieur* and his Household ; because that then this Prince wou'd be in a condition to give the *Spaniards* an entrance at any time into the Kingdom, who wou'd be glad of such an opportunity ; That, if matters were so, they must lay aside all thoughts of attacking any of their Neighbours, either to enlarge the Kingdom, or to assist the Confederates of the Crown, because it was always to be fear'd, that

that the *Spaniards* wou'd make some Irruption on that side; and, that though they did not break in upon them, yet they wou'd cause so many alarms there, that their hands wou'd be effectually tied up, without having any just pretence to complain of them; That the disaffected wou'd take fresh courage, and fall upon new designs. In fine, the Cardinal concluded, that it wou'd be better to leave *Monsieur* where he was, than to receive him upon those conditions which he demanded.

However, he at last propos'd, Whether one might not, in Justice and Equity, nay, with honour and advantage to the State, Promise *Puilaurens*, that *Monsieur* and he should reside at *Macon*, in order to draw him into France, and afterwards send this latter to Prison, in stead of keeping their word with him. As for the equity of the thing, the Cardinal was of opinion it cou'd never be question'd, since *Puilaurens* had been engag'd in such Mischievous Designs against the State; but then he said, His Majesty's Honour wou'd receive an irreparable loss, if he broke his Word upon this occasion. He added, 'That such a procedure wou'd be so far from doing them any service, or helping to counter-balance the detriment which the King's Reputation must necessarily suffer by breaking his Word, that it wou'd draw after it several fatal consequences, since if *Puilaurens* was Imprison'd, they wou'd be oblig'd to apprehend *Monsieur*, which was not practicable: That if this Prince came to leave the Kingdom afresh, he wou'd never return, whatever Promises were made him, after he had been once deceiv'd: That then he wou'd reunite himself more firmly than ever with the Queen-Mother, from whom *Puilaurens* kept him at as great a distance as he cou'd; and that by her Inducements and Perswasions he wou'd become of an Irreconcilable temper: That if it was alledg'd, That upon the Imprisonment of *Puilaurens*, *Monsieur* must be desired to keep within a certain place which shou'd be Assign'd him, and from which they should take care that it wou'd not be possible for him to stir; besides, that this was infinitely easier to be said than done, they wou'd gain no advantage by it for the present, but run

1 6 3 3. the risque of losing all for the future: That at present the King desir'd *Monsieur* to break off his Marriage with the Princess *Margaret of Lorrain*; and Marry the Princess of *Mantua*; yet if this Prince were apprehended, neither one nor the other cou'd be done, since the World wou'd say with reason, That he was not free: That thus his Marriage with the former wou'd be confirmed by it, in stead of being dissolved: That for the future, those that served His Majesty cou'd never hope to reconcile themselves to *Monsieur*, from which no manner of good cou'd arrive to the Kingdom: That His Majesty, to the great Misfortune of *France*, having been Married Eighteen years without any Children, those Persons that believed he would never have any Issue, would publickly exclaim, That the King's Servants had a mind to destroy the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, which might occasion several vexatious accidents. The Cardinal concluded to leave the Duke of *Orleans* where he was, if he would not return upon the Conditions the King had lately offered him, which were, to give him a considerable sum of Money to pay his Debts, to re-establish him in all his Appanages and Good, to give great Gratifications to *Puilaurens*, and bestow the Government of *Auvergne* upon him, with permission to reside there with his Guards. If *Monsieur* refused to come back upon these Conditions, the Cardinal thought it would be the best way to let him tarry in *Flanders*, since any other means of bringing him home were neither honourable nor advantageous.

These Conditions having been proposed to the Queen-Mother, and to *Monsieur*, they equally rejected them: The Queen-Mother could never consent to see her servants treated after a worse manner than those of her Son; and the Duke of *Orleans* imagined that they would grant him more, if he refused these first offers. But the event shewed, that both of them were mistaken, and that they had better have adjusted matters in time, than stand out against a Party which was infinitely stronger than their own. And the Cardinal, by this means, arrived to the design he proposed to himself, which was, to keep the Queen-Mother and *Monsieur*, but especially the former, out of *France*, as long as he was able.

The space of three Months was now expired since the Treaty of *Charmes*, and yet the Duke of *Lorraine* had not delivered the Princess *Margaret*, his Sister, to the King: So that now the Court of *France* talked of nothing but of having the Marriage of *Monsieur* declared void by the Parliament of *Paris*; and they founded it upon this reason, that the Princes of *Lorraine* had stole the Duke of *Orleans*. Thus they resolved to cite the Duke of *Lorraine* to appear before the Parliament of *Paris*, to produce his Reasons for this pretended Rape. His Brother, the Cardinal, endeavour'd to excuse him, by saying, He had done all that lay in his Power to get the Princess *Margaret* out of the hands of the Duke of *Orleans*, but that this Prince would not part with her. He desired the Cardinal-Duke to Intercede for him with the King, that his Citation might be Suspended; and declared, That if they proceeded farther, his Brother would not make his Appearance, as being prejudicial to the Rights of a Sovereign Prince. *Richlieu* maintained, That as he was a Vassal of the Crown of *France* for the Dukedom of *Bar*, he was obliged to come in Person thither, which, if he neglected to doe, or was declared to be an Accomplice in the Rape, they should be forced to proceed against him, by the ways of Fact. At the same time Orders were sent to the Parliament of *Metz*, to Prohibit the Inhabitants of those Places that had been lately taken from the Duke of *Lorraine*, as Dependencies upon the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*, to own the Duke for their Lord, but onely the Bishops of these Cities, and the King, to be as it were their Protector. They treated him after this manner, to constrain him to be sincerely devoted to the Interests of *France*, and to come himself to *Paris* to adjust these Differencies, or to reduce him to such a condition that he could do them no Injury.

Thus they Mortified the Duke of *Lorraine*, and now began to give New Vexations to the Queen-Mother, by stopping, and narrowly examining upon the Frontiers all the Carriages that came to her from *France* for her own use, and that of her Servants, though a Passport was allowed her. This Princess sent Complaints of this Usage to the King, and represented to him, That it was



1 6 3 4. to no purpose that the Cardinal employed these Rigours to bring her to his own Terms, and that she would never humble her self before him.

Not long after, the Attorney-General, following the Instructions of the Court, presented a Request to the Parliament, to declare, That the Duke of Orleans had been Stollen out of France by the Princes of Lorraine, and consequently, that his Marriage was null and void. The Parliament demanded time to inform and deliberate upon an Affair of so great a Consequence, but a very short space was allowed them; and the King came thither in Person on the 18th of January with the Cardinal, to get a Declaration confirmed, by which he restored the Duke of Orleans to his Estate and Honour, provided, that in Three Months he acknowledged his Fault, and came to Reside in France. He extended the same Favours to all his Domesticks, except Coigneux, Monfigot, Vieville, and some others. The King also declar'd, that he could not approve of the Marriage of Monsieur for the Reasons specified in His Declaration; and ordered the Parliament to Judge of the Informations which had been taken against the Duke of Lorraine, to Justifie, that he had caused Monsieur to be stollen, and consequently to show that his Marriage was null.

The Cardinal likewise made a long Harangue in the Parliament, full of Rhetorical strains, which was afterwards \* Printed. In it he praised the King, and exaggerated the Victories which he had obtained in his Ministry, rather in the Style of a Declaimer, than that of a Minister of State. He described, in a very Hyperbolical manner, His Majesty's kindness to the Queen-Mother, and to Monsieur, and particularly the Favours he designed to show that Prince. He promised great ease to the People, if these Perplexities, which they gave the King, were once over; and added, that for the present, besides a Reduction of the Duties, and a Revocation of a Hundred thousand Officers of new Creation, the exemption of whom was a Vexation to those that bore the Burden of the Taxes, he Remitted one Fourth of the Impost. † But this Fourth was of New Imposition, and it had been Raised for the Enterprize of Lorraine, besides Nine Millions of Livres extraordinary. The People

\* In the Journal of Richieu, Part II. p. 148.

† See Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 740.



did not rejoyce much at this small Satisfaction, because they expected the quite contrary.

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The Parliament was not a little perplexed about *Monsieur's* Marriage, by reason of the ill Consequences which the Judgment they gave might draw after it; since it concern'd the Heirs of a Prince who might one day sit upon the Throne. The Duke of *Lorraine* was generally blamed for giving his Consent to this Match, which, as it displeased the Court, so it had plunged him in very mortifying Circumstances. Otherwise this Marriage was neither too unequal, nor was it disadvantageous to the State; and indeed, nothing could be found fault in it, but that it was done without the King's Approbation, who might at last approve of it, after he had testified his Dislike of it, as in the Upshot he was obliged to do. To revenge himself for this Affront, he demanded *Xore* of the Duke of *Lorraine*, which is a Place between *Metz* and *Thionville*, to Fortifie it. The Duke immediately granted it, because he durst not do otherwise. However, the King promised to surrender it to him, not by Letters Patent, but by a private Letter of the Privy Seal, to denote the King's Superiority: He likewise demanded of the Duke, the original Contract of the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, and all the Papers he had in his hands relating to that Affair. He desired to know who were the Witnesses that had assisted at the Ceremony of the Espousals, and to have the Priest, who had officiated, deliver'd up to him. On the other hand, to make the Duke sensible that in case he would submit himself he might expect a gentler Treatment, Orders were sent to the Parliament of *Metz* to deserr the Prohibition which they had been commanded to issue out to the Inhabitants of the Lands depending upon the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, not to own the Duke of *Lorraine* any longer for their Prince; and they suffer'd him to gather his Revenues in the Dukedom of *Bar*, without pressing him to come and do Homage for it.

\* Altho' this Prince was in a manner divested of his Territories, yet he was so deeply provoked against *France*, which had oppress'd him, that he searched all Opportunities to retaliate the Injuries he received. And there-  
\* *Siri, libl. P. 742.*

1 6 3 4 therefore, that he might be able to declare openly against her, without Danger of being deprived of the Remainder of his Dominions, he made on the 19th of *January* a Donation of his Seats to his Brother *Nicholas Francis*, Cardinal of *Lorraine*, under a pretence that the Person of this latter was more agreeable to the King than his own. However, the World was sensible that this Donation was only a Pretence, because he performed several Acts of a Sovereign Prince after he had made it. When this was over, he retired with eight hundred Horse and two thousand Foot, and joyn'd the Imperial Army.

The new Duke dispatched *Contrisson* immediately to the Court of *France*, to acquaint the King and Cardinal with what had passed between his Brother and him, and to promise that he wou'd observe the Treaty of *Charmes*. As for his Brother, he assur'd them that he did not know whither he was gone: but this did not hinder the Parliament from carrying on the Process they had begun against him. The Cardinal of *Richlieu* told *Contrisson* when he shew'd him the Surrendry which the Duke had made in favour of him, 'That they had just Occasion 'to complain of the Duke for two Reasons: the first 'was, his Violation of the three several Treaties which 'he himself had concluded with the Duke; and the 'other was the Rape of the Duke, of *Orleans*, whom he 'had forced to marry his Sister. For the first, the Duke's 'Dominions, in the Opinion of this Minister, were engaged to *France*, and could not be restored to the Cardinal of *Lorraine* but upon the same Conditions by which his Brother held them: And as for the second, 'the Duke was not excused from the Guilt of it by absenting himself. Besides this, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* 'was his Accomplice in the Matter, for he, as Bishop of 'Thoul, had granted a Dispensation not publishing the 'Banns, as otherwise they ought to have done for the 'Marriage of *Monsieur* and the Princess *Margaret*, and 'had authorized a Monk to say Mass upon this Occasion, to the prejudice of the Curate, that this Affair 'might be kept the more secret. The Cardinal Duke reproached him of *Lorraine*, with having abused the King's Passport to further his Sister's Escape out of *Nancy*, and to send her to *Brussels*.

Thus

Thus the Princes of *Lorrain* found themselves engaged in very great Perplexities, and were at a Loss how to appease *France*, or how to defend themselves against her. Nothing, in all appearance, but the Match proposed to the Cardinal's Neice, could accommodate these Differences: but several great Difficulties arose in that Affair, as I have already observed. On the other hand, it was to be feared, that if the Cardinal-Duke suspected that they had asked his Neice in Marriage only to amuse him, he would revenge the Affront in a cruel manner.

*Contrisson* was sent back to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, with Orders to tell him, that it was in his power to follow his Brother's Steps or not; but that if he desired to live in peace, he must take different measures. He was demanded to explain himself upon this Head, and that he would discover by his manner of acting what were his true Sentiments. But above all, it was desired of him that he wou'd disapprove the Marriage of his Sister, and deliver the Original Papers of the Contract, and the Dispensation for the Banns. They gave *Contrisson* in Writing all that they required of his Master, and told him that they expected an Answer to each Article in Writing also.

As the King neither liked nor disliked the Duke of *Lorrain's* Surrendry of his Dominions to his Brother, the latter took upon him the Title of *Duke*, and put himself in possession of the State belonging to his Family, with the usual Solemnities, that so he might convince the World there was no Collusion in this Matter between his Brother and him. He had not as yet resign'd his Cardinal's Cap, and therefore stiled himself the *Cardinal-Duke of Lorrain*. Soon after, he sent back *Contrisson* to the Court of *France*, with an Answer to every Article in particular; as also to demand *Saverne*, which the *Marschal de la Force*, without alledging any Reason for so doing, had taken from the Duke his Brother, when there was no War between his Majesty and him; and to complain that the King's Officers who commanded in those Places which his Majesty held in Trust, hinder'd the Duke's Commissaries from levying upon the Inhabitants of those Cities the ordinary Taxes, and to demand farther time in regard of the Homage he was to do for the *Dutchy of Bar*.

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1634.

† The 14th of February.

*Contrisson* being arrived † at *Paris*, acquitted himself the next Day of his Orders, and went to carry his Letters of Credence to the Cardinal. When he saw in the Subscription of the Letter, *Cardinal-Duke of Lorrain*, he said that this was a pleasant sort of a Quality, by way of Contempt, as if the Title of Cardinal-Duke had only belonged to *Armand John du Pleffis*, exclusively of all others. After this he fell into an extraordinary Passion against the House of *Lorrain*, and spoke of it in very despicable Terms, as he was used to speak of all those that used the same Artifices against him which he employ'd against others. *Contrisson* was so daunted, that he scarce knew what to answer; but at last he told him, that after they had examined the Houses of all the Notaries of *Nancy*, as the Count de *Brassac*, Governour in that City for the King, knew, they could not find any Minutes of the Contract of *Monsieur's* Marriage; and that in all probability there never were any, having perhaps been written by the hand of the Duke of *Orleans* himself: neither could they find the Dispensation for the Banns, but that the Cardinal Duke of *Lorrain* offer'd to sign one, in the same manner as the other had been: That they cou'd not tell the Names of the Witnesses to the Marriage; and that the Monk who had perform'd the Ceremony of the *Espousals*, had left *Lorrain*. To this the Cardinal of *Richlieu* replied, in a great passion, That now it plainly appeared that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* (for he never vouchsafed to call him Duke) would follow the Footsteps of his Brother: That these Answers, full of Dissimulation, and very different from what he had promis'd by word of mouth, did sufficiently discover his Design, as they formerly found by what Spirit he acted, when after he had denyed that he knew any thing of his Sister's Marriage, it was now discovered that he had granted a Dispensation for the Banns: That till then they had believed the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was a Prince of Honour and Sincerity, whereas they found him at present to be the quite contrary: That if he refused to send the Contract, it was a Matter of no great Importance, since they cou'd easily discover after what manner it was done! That if they stifted the Original Papers, it would be so much

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the easier to get the Marriage annull'd: That they very well knew who were the Witnesſes, and that as for them and the Monk, who had diſappeared, the King would let them ſee, to their Coſt, that he had long Hands. At laſt he concluded, That whereas he had been formerly a Friend to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, he wou'd be his greateſt Enemy if he continued to follow the Maxims of his Brother.

As for what concerned the Taking of *Saverne*, the King, according to the Cardinal, was not obliged to make any Excuses for what had been done upon very juſt Grounds: And he added, 'That if the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had defended it, they wou'd have taken it away from him by force: That they wou'd conſider what was to be done to the Governours of thoſe Places which his Maſteſty held in truſt, who had hinder'd the Duke of *Lorrain* from raiſing his Duties: That inſtead of allowing farther time for him to do Homage for the Dutchy of *Bar*, he muſt expect every moment to ſee it declared lapſed to the King, by the Duke's Felony, and incorporated to the Crown, and that the Principal might well follow the Acceſſary. His meaning was, that they might juſtly enough ſeize upon all *Lorrain* by vertue of a Decree of Parliament which wou'd be inflicted upon the Duke by way of Punishment for his ſtealing away *Monsieur*, and for the Charges of War.

After this manner it was that the Cardinal-Duke pretended to oblige thoſe, that were weaker than himſelf, to ſubmit to his imperious Will, under a Pretence of doing Juſtice to the King's Reputation. All his Miniſtry was ſupported by the ſame Arrogance, becauſe he had to do with Perſons of very ordinary Diſcretion; and having full Power to oppoſe them with the Forces of the Kingdom, and all the King's Authority, he cruſhed and overwhelm'd them, before they were in a condition to ward his Blows.

While the Diſcourſe at *Paris* ran upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and every one imagined that he wou'd at laſt marry *Madam de Combalet*, to appeaſe her Uncle, he married *Claude de Lorrain*, his Couſin, and Siſter to his Brother's Wife, in the Preſence of the Dutcheſs, ſome

Ladies,

*At Lorraine, the 16th of Feb. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 750.*



1 6 3 4. Ladies, and a Gentleman. The Reason why he took this Resolution, and put it so speedily in Execution, was because he feared that the *Mareschal de la Force*, who was at the Head of the King's Army not far from thence, came with a Design to take these two Princesses, and to send them into *France*, which might furnish that Court with a plausible Occasion to justify the Rights which they pretended to have upon *Lorrain*, to the prejudice of the Princes of that House. In Effect the *Mareschal de la Force* having received Advice of this Marriage, caused *Luneville* to be \* invested, and conducted the new-married Couple, with the Dutchess of *Lorrain* and the Princess of *Phaltsburg* to *Nancy*, where they were kept in Confinement, although they were otherwise treated with a great deal of Respect. He likewise placed a *French Garrison* in the Town, after he had turned out the *Lorrain Soldiers* that the Prince had left there for the Security of the Place:

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 7.  
p. 740.

This New Married Prince, whom we shall hereafter call *Duke Nicholas Francis*, sent a Gentleman to the Court of *France*, to acquaint the King with his Marriage, and to desire him to order *Luneville* to be restored, and himself and the Princess to be set at liberty, since he was ready to observe all the Treaties that had been made with His Majesty. As for what related to his Marriage, they told his Envoy, That the King did not concern himself about it; but they denied he was a Prisoner, since he had liberty to walk all over the City of *Nancy*. But so far were they from delivering up any thing which they had taken, that under pretence that the Cardinal was of the same Humour with his Brother, they said, The King was obliged, for his Security, to seize upon the remainder of *Lorrain*. In the mean time *Duke Charles* offer'd to deliver up *la Mothe* and *Biche*, two strong Places, which he still kept in his possession, into the King's hands, if he would set his Brother and the Princesses at Liberty.

But the Court of *France* thought it better to take them by main Force, and not to part with the Prince and Princesses, whose Rights they designed to make use of: So the *Mareschal de la Force* was ordered to Block up *la Mothe*, till such time as he could fortify Besiege it,

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The Princess of *Phaltsburg* was kept more closely confin'd at *Nancy* than any of the rest, because she was of a Spirit much more difficult to manage, and had been the principal cause of her Sister's Marriage. But as she was the Person who found out means for that Princess to make her escape, she contrived a way to escape her self, notwithstanding the Guards, by hiding her self in the Seat of a Coach that was to carry one of her Gentlemen who was Sick, and Maimed in one of his Legs, out of the City, by virtue of a Passport he had procured. The Coach was examined at the City Gate, but they saw nothing but a Gentleman lying upon a Quilt, which they did not search. Within nine Miles of *Nancy* she and her Cripple got on Horseback, and took the way to *Besancon*. It was known she had made her Escape two Hours after she was gone, and a world of People were sent to retake her, but they did not know what Road she took. The Cardinal was exceedingly vexed at this new Trick which the Princess had play'd him, and was afraid that she wou'd go directly to *Monsieur*, to conclude her Marriage with *Puilaurens*, which had been talked of some Years before.

Duke *Charles*, who was in *Alsatia* in the Imperial Army, design'd in the mean time to surprize the French Camp before *La Mothe*, and having obtain'd some Troops of the Imperial Generals, he joyn'd them with his own, and marched on that side. But the Rhingrave *Otho*, who commanded the Swedish Army \*, prevented him, and cut his Men in pieces, so that he was hardly able to make his Escape with a few Men into the *Franche Comte*, there to pick up the Remainders of his Army.

Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was highly provoked because Duke *Nicholas Francis* did not marry his Neice, though upon disadvantageous Conditions, prepared to carry on his Tryal, since he was now no longer a Cardinal, upon the pretended Rape of *Monsieur*. The Parliament of *Paris* appointed a day for him and his Brother to answer to the Charge laid against them, as well as the Princess *Margaret*, and order'd the Priest that had married them to be apprehended. These Formalities made it evidently appear, that in case these Princes did not appear, they wou'd be condemn'd for Obstinacy, and afterwards deprived of their Dominions.

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But

\* The 12th of March.

1634.

But neither did Duke *Nicholas Francis*, nor the Dutcheſſ his Wife, think themſelves obliged to expect the end of this Tryal in *Lorrain*; ſo having found an opportunity to eſcape out of *Nancy* in a Diſguiſe, they retired to *Beſançon*, and from thence to *Florence*; only the Dutcheſſ *Nicole*, the Wife of *Charles*, ſtill tarried in *Nancy*, in the Hands of the *French*. Some People were of Opinion that this new-married Couple were purpoſely ſuffer'd to eſcape, becauſe their Marriage having been approved of by the Pope, no Exceptions could be made againſt it. But the Court talked of re-uniting all *Lorrain* to the Crown, under a Pretence that it was formerly a Feif of the Counts of *Champagne*; and that this County having long ago fallen into the Hands of the Kings of *France*, all that depended upon it ought to belong to them.

While this paſſed in *Lorrain*, the Cardinal made great Promiſes to *Monſieur* and *Puilaurens* to draw them into *France*, for fear leaſt *Gaſton* ſhould reconcile himſelf to the Queen-Mother. It was generally expected that they wou'd now ſhortly return, ſince almoſt every thing they asked was granted them, except a place of Security. The Queen-Mother, who ſtill fell out more and more with the D. of *Orleans*, and found there was no probability of adjusting Differences with him, ſo long as *Puilaurens* continued near his Perſon, was at the ſame time inclined to make her Peace with the King, whatever it coſt her; and ſhe was ſo much the more diſpoſed to uſe this Conduct, becauſe ſhe perceived that the *Marquiſs d' Aytone*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, ſhew'd a greater Reſpect to *Gaſton* than her ſelf. She cauſed *F. Chanteloube* to write to *Bouthillier*, that ſhe was reſolved to come and throw her ſelf upon his Maſteſty's Generoſity, and to be reconciled to the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, if the King commanded her to do it. *Bouthillier* carried this Letter to the King, ſeal'd as it was, and at the ſame time cauſed the Man that brought it, and came without a Paſſport, to be ſecured at his own Houſe. The King open'd it in the Cardinal's Preſence, where, beſides what is related above, he found that the Queen demanded a Paſſport to ſend one *la Roche*, who might come and go as Buſineſs required. *F. Chanteloube* ſaid that the Queen demanded nothing more for him, but that he might  
peace.

peaceably end his Days in some Convent of his Order. 1 6 3 4.  
 Upon this the King assembled a Council, who as they were surpris'd to see the Queen-Mother pass from one Extremity to another, so they imagin'd that there was some Artifice in this unaccountable Conduct. What help'd to confirm them in this Belief, was, that this *la Roche* had been the Accomplice of *Alfefton*, and that another Man, who had been lately sent to the Bastile, accus'd *F. Chanteloube* afresh. So they answered the Bearer of this Letter by word of mouth, That so soon as the Queen removed *F. Chanteloube*, and writ with her own hand, they wou'd give more Credit to it, than to such blind Instructions as these were, which they had now received.

Upon the Arrival of this Messenger to *Flanders* \*, the Queen-Mother dispatch'd *de Laleu* with three Letters, of her own Writing, one to the King, and the other two to the Cardinal and *Bouthillier*; the Contents of which were, That she was ready to do whatever His Majesty desir'd of her, and particularly to be reconciled to the Cardinal, that so she might obtain Permission to return to Court. *De Laleu* had Orders to tell them the same Thing by word of mouth; and the Letter which this Princess writ to the King, serv'd him instead of a Letter of Credence. I will set down the Words of that which was address'd to the Cardinal, and which wou'd certainly have inclin'd him to Compassion, if it had been possible for him to pardon an Injury.

\* The 16th of  
 Febr. See  
 Aubery's  
 Mem. T. 1.  
 P. 422. and  
 Siri Mem.  
 Rec. T. 7. p.  
 763.

Dear Cousin;

THE *Sieur Bouthillier* having given me so understand from your Part, that my Misfortunes sensibly affect you, and that being concern'd to behold me so long depriv'd of the Honour of seeing the King, it wou'd be a great Satisfaction to you to procure me that Happiness; I thought my self oblig'd to assure you by the *Sieur de Laleu*, with what Pleasure I receive your kind Inclinations. Repose Confidence in him, and believe that I shall be wish all Sincerity,

Your, &c.

H

The

1 6 3 4.

The Instructions of *de Laleu* ran to this Effect, That he shou'd wait upon the Cardinal, and tell him that the Queen-Mother had not the least Resentment for what was past: That she desired to make no other Advantage of those Professions of Friendship which he made her, than to fix her self again, by his Interest, in the King's good Graces, and obtain leave to send some of her Servants to him to negotiate her Return: That as for himself, he had no reason to be apprehensive of the Queen-Mother, since he was infinitely the more powerful of the two, and she wou'd always be commanded by him. *De Laleu* was order'd to observe whether the Cardinal express'd any Diffidence or no, because if he did, it was an infallible sign that it wou'd be in vain to think of an Accommodation. As for Father *Chanteloube*, the Queen wou'd not remove him of her own proper Motion; but if the Cardinal excluded him out of the Treaty, as he himself desired, he promis'd to withdraw of his own Accord.

† *Stri. Ibid.*  
p. 761.

This Gentleman having thus deliver'd the Queen-Mother's Letters, and executed his Commission, † the Cardinal found himself extreamly embarrass'd, because that since this Princess had humbled her self to such a degree, as it was never expected she wou'd condescend to, all the World wou'd be of opinion, that the King cou'd not refuse to give her Leave to come back to Court, without the Imputation of an unnatural Severity. However, he did not find himself disposed either to believe that his old Benefactress cou'd heartily forgive him the Vexations he had caused her, or to pardon this Princess for her manner of treating him before she left *France*, and for the Writings she had caused to be published against him after her Departure. Besides, he pretended to have received Advice from several hands, that Father *Chanteloube* design'd him a Mischief, and that he had written to some of his Friends, that the Queen wou'd never abandon him, altho' he had desired her to leave him in *Flanders*. At the bottom this was but an inconsiderable Matter, and which he might easily have prevented afterwards, if the King had preserv'd any Tenderness for the Queen his Mother, and if the Cardinal cou'd have resolv'd to forgive a Princess who in her time had done



done him incomparably much more Good than Harm. 1 6 3 4.

But the King, instead of being influenc'd by those  
 Considerations that naturally presented themselves to his  
 Mind, was easily perswaded by the Cardinal to persist  
 in his Demands, that she shou'd deliver up to him some  
 of her Domesticks, in order to receive farther Punish-  
 ment; which she cou'd not do without renouncing the  
 Principles of Humanity, and frightening all those Persons  
 from her Service that shou'd have any Inclinations to  
 serve her. So *de Laleu* being ordered to come to *Ruel*,  
 ‡ where the King was to meet him with the Cardinal, † *The 19th*  
 he accordingly went thither, but was surprized to find *of Febr.*  
 only the latter there. However, he was received with  
 extraordinary Civility, and the Cardinal told him, that  
 the profound Respect he had for the Person that sent him,  
 obliged him to shew him more if it were possible. But  
 his Answer made it sufficiently appear with what Sincer-  
 ity he delivered this Complement. He told him, ' That  
 ' the Queen-Mother had always been welcome, but  
 ' that his Majesty was willing to be satisfied that she  
 ' wou'd never be dissuaded from that Desire she then  
 ' exprest wholly to submit her self to his Pleasure, by  
 ' those malicious Spirits that had deceived her hitherto,  
 ' and of which he could never be fully assured, so long  
 ' as they were in the World: (*for now it seems they were*  
 ' *not content to have the Queen discard them, when they*  
 ' *saw she was inclined to do it:*) That for this end the  
 ' King demanded of her to deliver into his hands *Father*  
 ' *Chantelaube*, the Abbot of *St. Germain*, and the Fellow  
 ' that calculated Nativities, (*he meant Fabbroni whom*  
 ' *he afterwards named,*) because they had not only inju-  
 ' red the Queen, but likewise offended the King to that  
 ' degree, that they must never hope to be pardoned:  
 ' The first by his ill Counsels, the second by his sediti-  
 ' ous and wicked Libels, and the third by his Predicti-  
 ' ons, wherein he had given out that the King had but  
 ' a short time to live, which had made the Queen-  
 ' Mother listen to pernicious Counsels, disorder'd the  
 ' Royal Family, and done a mighty Disservice to the  
 ' State: That therefore the Queen-Mother ought, with-  
 ' out farther delay, to surrender up the Man that had  
 ' put the King's Life in question, as *Fabbroni* had done;

1 6 3 4.

‘ the Man that by his defamatory Libels had endeavoured to take away his Reputation, as the Abbot of St. *Germain* had notoriously done ; and lastly, the Man that by attacking the Life of His Majesty’s most faithful Servants, gave him all the just reason in the World to be apprehensive of his own.

The Cardinal added, That this would be an effectual way to convince all Mankind that she disapproved of their wicked Designs, and seem’d to testify abundance of Joy that his Enemies had not been able to alienate the Queen-Mother’s good Affections from him. He concluded with saying, ‘ That he cou’d not forbear to inform the Queen with the same Freedom he had spoken to her heretofore, that considering what had past, it was impossible but that the King must still have some Distrust : and that she must resolve to dissipate it entirely, in order to build her Reconciliation upon a sure and lasting Foundation : after which she wou’d receive all imaginable Marks of natural Tendernefs and Affection from the best Son in the World, and she wou’d see the Effects of the sincere Inclinations of one of her Creatures, who in this Juncture cou’d not dissent from the King’s Intentions, without offending him sensibly.

Before *de Laleu* return’d to *Brussels*, he received fresh Letters for the King and Cardinal, in which the Queen-Mother confirm’d the same things, in terms still more humble and condescending, particularly in regard to the Cardinal. She likewise demanded a Passport for Father *Suffren*, her Confessor, whom she desired to send to Court. But Answer was made, that they wou’d hearken to no one, unless he brought them word from the Queen, that she was ready to deliver into his Majesty’s hands the three Persons he demanded of her. *De Laleu* return’d to the *Low-Countries* with this sad Message, which made the Queen lose all hopes of ever seeing the King her Son again.

While these Negotiations were managed by the Queen-Mother, *Monsieur* consulted the University of *Louvain* about his Marriage, which they judg’d to be valid, and he got it to be solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop of *Malines*, in the presence of seven Witnesses. The Queen-Mother was desired to be present at this

Cere-

Ceremony, but refused it, whether she had resolved to concern her self no more with the Affairs of *Monsieur*, as she had told him, or was not willing to disoblige the King, at a time when she endeavour'd to appease him. However, when she received the abovementioned News, she was so far from complying with those dishonourable Submissions they expected from her, that she bestowed upon the Abbot of *St. Germain* the Place of her chief Almoner, which happen'd then to be vacant. At the same time the Court employ'd the *Marschal de Crequi* at *Rome*, to engage the Pope to declare the Marriage of *Monsieur* null, by representing to him all the Reasons they could think of. But as these Reasons only served to cover their Desire to hinder *Monsieur* from Marrying, the Pope, who was not prejudiced that way, formed great Difficulties upon all the Proposals they made him.

The surest Expedient was to get the Duke of *Orleans* into *France*, because there they cou'd make him do whatever they had a mind to; for which reason they laboured in private to effect it, although this Prince pretended to be as far from entring into any Reconciliation as ever he had been. At this time \* *Puilaurens* was extremely out with the Duke of *Elbeuf*, and the latter complained of him, because in the Treaty which was secretly making with the Cardinal, he had demanded nothing in favour of him, save only that he should not be excluded out of the Amnesty. While these Quarrels were on foot, † it happen'd that some unknown Bravo's attempted to murder *Puilaurens*, and discharged a Carabine loaden with several Bullets at him, as he was going up the Stairs at the Palace of *Brussels*. He was only wounded slightly in the Cheek, and the Assassines made their Escape so speedily, that no News cou'd be heard of them, whatever search was made. *Monsieur* made a mighty Noise about this barbarous Attempt, and laid it to the charge of the Duke of *Elbeuf*, or some of the Queen-Mother's Servants; which served to compleat the Breach between them, and afterwards occasion'd several Differences, the Particulars of which 'tis needless to relate here. Whoever it was that design'd to kill him, 'tis certain it did a great Injury to the Queen-Mother, who was now suspected of designing to assassinate the Favourites of her two Sons,

\* See Aubrey's Life of the Card. Lib. 4. Cap. 49.

† The 3d of May, Aub. Ibid. Sirs Mem. Rec. Tom. 8. p. 79.

1 6 3 4. that so she might manage them as she saw convenient. However, others were of opinion, that the *Spaniards* being informed that *Puilaurens* was negotiating the Return of *Monfieur*, were resolved to break off this Negotiation, by causing him that was the chief Promoter of it to be taken off. But as this Blow happened to miscarry, it only retarded *Monfieur's* Return for a short time, and made *Puilaurens* desire it more than ever, who did not think himself any longer safe at *Brussels*.

• The 12th of  
May, Aub.  
Mem. T. 1.  
P. 425.

But as it was highly necessary to conceal this Design from the *Spaniards*, for fear they might stop *Monfieur* and his Servants, besides that the Treaty with the Cardinal was not yet concluded, this Prince enter'd into a new Treaty with the *Spaniards* \* a few days after the Assassination, that so they might not suspect he designed to accommodate himself with the King his Brother. The principal Articles of this Treaty are as follow; by which it will appear that *Gaston* who signed them, did not trouble himself much to keep his Word: That he engaged himself to enter into no sort of Agreement with the King his Brother, whatever Advantages were offer'd him, and whatever Alterations might happen in *France* upon the Cardinal's ruine, for the space of two years and a half, without the Consent of his Catholick Majesty: That nevertheless if he came to treat before that time was expired, tho' it were by the Consent of his Catholick Majesty, he should be obliged to break it when it pleased his Catholick Majesty: That in case any Rupture happen'd between the two Crowns, his Highness promis'd to take the part of the House of *Austria*, and to support its Interests till a General Peace was concluded: That if the Arms of the Duke happen'd to make any progress in *France*, by the Taking of any Places, his Highness shou'd deliver up some of them to his Catholick Majesty, partly to re-imburse him for the great Expences he had already been at, and partly for an Assurance that he would be grateful to them one day, if his Highness came to the Crown; in which case, his Highness engaged fully to recompense them for all their Charges: That upon this Supposition, his Catholick Majesty wou'd furnish his Highness with 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse, one half of which were to be *French*, and the other *Spaniards*: That  
these

these Troops shou'd be ready to act towards the End of next *September*, and that then his Catholick Majesty, if the state of his Affairs wou'd permit him, shou'd draw his Troops towards the Frontiers of *France*, to alarm the King's Forces on that side, while his Highness enter'd the Kingdom at another: That his Catholick Majesty wou'd give 70000 Crowns towards the raising of the French Troops, and 45000 each Month for their Subsistence, which however was to lessen according as the Army advanced; so that when they were once in *France*, his Catholick Majesty should not be obliged to be at any Charge for their Maintenance, since they might live upon Contributions from the Country, as 'tis the way in *Germany*: That his Catholick Majesty shou'd allow 15000 Crowns a Month for the Support of his Highness and Madam, as soon as *Monsieur* shou'd leave *Brussels* to march towards *France*, but that when he was arrived there, he and his Army were to live at the Expence of the Country where he resided. This Treaty was signed by the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Marquils d' *Aytone*, and the Duke of *Lerma* and *Philaurens* sign'd it as Witnesses. The Marquils d' *Aytone* and Prince \* *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who had lately put himself in the Service of *Spain*, were very urgent with the Queen-Mother to sign this Treaty, and used her ill upon that Account: but she had too much Resolution and Prudence to engage herself in a Treaty so directly opposite to the Interests of the King her Son: The Marquils d' *Aytone* having sent this Treaty into *Spain* to have it ratified, the King of *Spain* signed it, and sent back the Ratification of it by Sea. \* But the Vessel which carried it happening to run a-ground upon the Coast of *Calais*, this Ratification was taken by the *French*, and sent to Court, where perhaps it help'd to hasten the Cardinal to conclude the Treaty which he had begun with the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Abbot of *Elbene* made several Journeys for this purpose from *Paris* to *Brussels*, and the principal Difficulty which retarded the Conclusion of it, respected the Person of Madam, whom the King wou'd have his Brother deliver up to him. It was likewise proposed, That he should consent that those Judges whom the Pope should nominate out of the Bishops of *France*, should determine

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
88.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
84. &c.



1 2 3 4. termine the Validity of his Marriage; but he wou'd give his Consent neither to the one nor the other. The Treaty which Monsieur had made with the Marquifs d'Ayrons was not perhaps kept so secret but they had some Intelligence of it in France before they happen'd to light upon the abovementioned Ratification, and the Abbot of Elbene reproached Monsieur with it. It was also known that he had written to Rome, that he wou'd never agree that the French Ecclesiasticks should judge of this Marriage, and that he had complain'd that Cardinal Richlieu design'd to call in question his Right of Succession to the Crown, and for that end had made an Alliance with several Heretick Princes, at the time when Gaston had married a Princess of a most Catholick Family.

The Abbot of Elbene, at his Return to Paris, gave an Account of his Negotiation, and told them he was clearly of opinion, that if they let alone the business of the Princess Margaret, Monsieur would readily accept the Conditions that were offer'd him. But whether the King was possess'd with his ancient Jealousie against his Brother, or whether the Cardinal was not willing that this Prince should have a Lady that was obliged to the Queen-Mother for her Marriage, the Court obstinately persisted to make him declare it null, under a Pretence that the King had not consented to it. \* A Council was held

\* See, this.  
p. 241.

just after the Abbot of Elbene's Return, wherein the Cardinal was pleas'd to say, ' That there were but two ways to preserve the King from the ill Designs of Monsieur; the first of which wholly depended upon the Blessing of Heaven, and the other upon his Majesty's Prudence. The first was, if the King had a Son who might take away all hopes from the Duke of Orleans of ever finding the Throne vacant for himself. The second, according to the Cardinal's Notion of Things, was, a firm Association between those of whose Fidelity his Majesty was assured; which might make Monsieur's Adherents sensible, that if they hasten'd that Prince's Succession by any indirect means, they wou'd find persons enough ready to chastise their Wickedness, and that even if the Throne happen'd to be vacant naturally, he shou'd not take possession of it without some Dispute. The Reason of this was, that if Monsieur

believed

'believed that after the King's Decease his Succession  
 'might be vigorously contested, he would never desire  
 'his Brother's Death. This Expedient, in the Cardinal's  
 'Opinion, was the only means to secure the King, and  
 'to preserve the State from those Dangers into which the  
 'Designs of the *Spaniards* might throw it, as well as the  
 'Cabals of the disaffected *French*; because, whenever the  
 'King happen'd to die, neither one nor the other could  
 'then constrain Monsieur to act as they pleased; their  
 'Power being counterbalanc'd by that of the contrary  
 'Party; and that thus his Majesty's Servants, being  
 'supported by the undoubted Right of Monsieur, might  
 'be in a condition to defend him against the *Spaniards*,  
 'and wou'd find their Security in endeavouring the  
 'Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

History no where informs us what Reflections were  
 made upon this strange Advice, but 'tis certain it fairly  
 tended to give the Cardinal power to chuse whom of the  
 Princes of the Blood he should pitch upon, to succeed to  
 the Crown. This Minister who reproached Monsieur  
 with having violated the fundamental Laws of the State,  
 would have perswaded his Majesty, against all manner  
 of Justice, and all received Precedents, to invest him  
 with an Authority, to which the whole Body of the Peo-  
 ple has no right to pretend, in an hereditary Monarchy.  
 Some time after, \* Monsieur reconciled himself to the  
 Queen his Mother upon the occasion of a Difference that  
 happen'd in his Family, in the heat of which the Queen  
 sent to offer him all her Servants, and to dispose of them  
 as he should think fit. The Duke of *Elbeuf* likewise made  
 up matters with Monsieur and *Puilaurens*; but the Duke  
 of *Orleans* was so incapable to regulate his Affairs at  
 home, and to make himself beloved by his Domesticks,  
 that the greatest part of them abandon'd him, without  
 taking their leave of him, and withdrew into *France*, al-  
 though Passports were refused them.

Thus the Cardinal was in no great pain for any thing  
 the Duke of *Orleans* might do, because in gaining his Fa-  
 vourite, he was assured to bring him to what Terms he  
 pleas'd. The unshaken and firm Resolution of the  
 Queen-Mother gave him a great deal more trouble;  
 and as he carried Matters to the highest Extremities, he

\* Towards the  
 beginning of  
 June.

was

1 6 3 4. was afraid that this Princess, provoked to the greatest degree, wou'd cause him at last to be assassinated if she still continued in the *Low-Countries*, which are but a few days Journey from *Paris*. Therefore he now thought a-fresh of sending her to *Florence*, whither the Grand Duke offer'd to invite her, if the King thought it convenient. For this purpose \* he obliged *Gondi* to take a Journey into *Flanders*, and make this Offer to the Queen, to see what Answer she wou'd return to it. He was of opinion, that though she absolutely rejected it, yet it was good to let her know that the King wou'd not be displeased at her going to *Florence*. *Gondi* undertook this Journey, and presented to her a Letter from the Grand Duke, wherein he invited her to come and live with him, till such time as she was reconciled to the King. The Queen received this Complement very kindly, and told him, that the Grand Duke had a greater Consideration for her than either her own Sons or her Sons-in-law, of which the former used her ill, and the other refused her all manner of Assistance, or else were weary of giving it any longer. She seem'd to be very sensible of the Grand Duke's Kindness, and desired time to consider of an Answer till *Gondi* who was going into *Holland* came back again. She gave him to understand, that she was dissatisfied with her Domesticks, that Father *Chanteloube* wanted Integrity, and the Abbot of *St. Germain* was a Man of no Judgment; but she cou'd not resolve to turn them away, least the World should say that this was an open Acknowledgment that she had been ill advised. The King of *Spain*, as she told him, did not furnish her with what she wanted, but slowly and with great Difficulty, and she wanted several things that were necessary even for her own Person. *Puילawrens*, she said, was the Man that had begun to ruin her, and then had compleated her Destruction; because after he had engaged her against the Cardinal, by swearing to her, that he wou'd never abandon her, he had, to regain this Prelate's Favour, acquainted him with what had passed between them, before Monsieur parted from *Paris* the first time. And afterwards this Man, fearing least she shou'd resent this Injury, had done all that lay in his power to ruine her.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. Toin. 8.*  
 p. 93.

At *Gondi's* Return from *Holland*, the Queen told him she was oblig'd to the Grand Duke for the great Kindness he express'd towards her; but though she did not absolutely refuse the Treat which he offer'd her, she said that *Florence* was too far from *Paris*, and that if she went thither, her Affairs would go on with too much Slowness. Upon this Consideration, she reserv'd that place to retire to, when she was destitute of all Hopes to make an Accommodation. She once more intimated to *Gondi*, how little she was satisfied with Father *Chanteloube*, the Abbot of *St. Germain*, and *Fabroni*, and own'd, that if the King gave her to understand that he was pleas'd she should dismiss them, she would not fail to do it, but that she would not after this run the risk of a Refusal, as it had happen'd to her at the beginning of the Year, when they despis'd all her Submissions. She open'd her self very frankly to *Gondi*, because he was the Grand Duke's Resident, whom she believed to be well-affected to her Interests, and received his Advice very courteously. In all these Conversations, she shed abundance of Tears, and shew'd all imaginable signs of a great Inclination to be reconciled to her Son, by throwing her self wholly upon his Generosity, and demanding nothing of him. Nay, she said that she desired to owe her Return to the Cardinal, and that she was very well satisfied that none but he could serve her. *Gondi* saw that she was really in a Condition that deserv'd Commiseration, and her Discourses were enough to have affected any one but those she had to deal with.

At his Arrival at *Paris*, he gave the Cardinal and the other Ministers an Account of his Journey, and endeavour'd to represent to them the hearty Inclinations of the Queen-Mother in so feeling a manner, that it might touch them with pity. The Cardinal \* hearken'd to him with a great deal of Indifference, although he seem'd to be satisfied with his Negotiation. At last he told him, that so long as Father *Chanteloube*, who was convicted of a Design to kill him more than once, continued about the Queen, it was impossible to repose any Confidence in her, and that she always said the same things.

*Gondi* had † another Audience of the Cardinal, where- in he try'd to move him to Compassion, by laying be- fore

\* The 17th of October.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.T.* 3. p. 126.

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fore him the sad Condition of this Princess, and the Resolution she had taken up to forget all that had pass'd : this Minister answer'd him, that he did not know her so well as he did, and that the day she had broke off with him, notwithstanding all his Submissions, and all the King's Entreaties, she had said, *That she was, and wou'd be always implacable*; which made his Majesty tell her, *That she was of a very cruel Disposition*. At last he fell into an outrageous Passion against Father *Chanteloube*, *St. Germain*, and *Fabroni*, whom he called Murderers, Poisoners, and execrable Persons. After he had complain'd that Father *Chanteloube* had thrice endeavour'd to get him assassinated, as three Men who had been executed for it, had accused him; that *S. Germain* had assaulted his Reputation in several villainous Libels; and that *Fabroni* had lodged Money at *Antwerp* to recompense the Murderers that had been sent into *France*; he said that this was the least Fault they had committed, and that they were guilty of High Treason. Nevertheless he testified, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd deliver them, perhaps they might not be treated so rigorously as they deserv'd. At the Conclusion he said, That if she wou'd acknowledge by doing this, that she had till then believed and protected those that were Enemies to the King, he was ready to subscribe her Return with his own Blood; and that he wou'd leave no means unattempted to obtain it of his Majesty.

*D'Elbene* met with better Success in his Negotiation for the Return of the Duke of *Orleans*, because having gain'd *Puilaurens* by fair Promises, this Prince consented to whatever they wou'd have of him, at the perswasion of his Favourite, who had no regard to his Master's Honour. The Treaty was concluded, and sign'd by the King, and the \* Substance of it was, that the King and Monsieur agreed to be determined, as for what related to the Marriage of the latter, by those Laws which the other Subjects of the King are used to be judged by in the like Cases; the King allowing full liberty to Monsieur to satisfy his Conscience in this point by the usual Methods; that if this Marriage happen'd to be dissolved, Monsieur promis'd the King not to marry again without his Majesty's Consent, as on his side the King gave his

Word

\* See it in  
Aubery's  
Memoirs, T. I.  
P. 427.



Word not to constrain him to act against his Inclinations; that in whatever place Monsieur resided by the King's permission, that is to say, whether in *Auvergne*, *Bourbonnois*, or at *Dombes*, he promised to behave himself there like a true Brother, and a good Subject, without maintaining any private Correspondence which might offend the King: that his Majesty granted an Amnesty for him and all his Domesticks, except three or four: That Monsieur shou'd be re-establish'd in all his Goods, Appanages, and Pensions: and That the King shou'd give him immediately upon his Arrival into *France* four hundred thousand Livres, to pay off his Debts at *Brussels* and elsewhere, and a hundred thousand Crowns fifteen days after to set up his Equipage: That the King shou'd give him the Government of *Auvergne* instead of that of the Province about *Orleans* and *Blois*: That he shou'd keep for him a Company of the *Gen d'Armes*, and another of Light Horse, consisting of a hundred Men each, for six Months, and afterwards of fifty, till such time as Monsieur returned to Court. The King granted these Articles, only upon Condition that Monsieur accepted them in fifteen days, and perform'd them by coming back to *France* within three Weeks, reckoning from the day of the Date, which was the first of *October*.

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*Puilaurens*, for his part, had the \* Government of *Bourbonnois*, and the Dutchy of *Eguillon*, with a Promise to marry one of the Cardinal's Relations eight days after his Arrival into *France*. This Marriage, and the great Favour he was in with Monsieur, made him imagine that the Cardinal wou'd share his Authority with him, and take him for his Partner in the Management of Affairs. But the Event made it sufficiently appear that he was as little acquainted with the Cardinal, as he was incapable to serve his Master faithfully.

† *Siri M...*  
*Res. T. 2.*  
 P. 102.

In the mean time Monsieur and He, full of Joy and Satisfaction for having obtained these Advantages of the Court, were contriving how to make their Escape with all speed, for fear least the *Spaniards* shou'd detain them if they came to suspect their Design. They took their Opportunity when the *Marquis d'Ayotne* was gone to confer with the Duke of *Newburg*, and parted out of \* *Brussels*, under a pretence of going to Hunt, with the Duke

\* On a Sunday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of *October*.

of

1 6 3 4. of *Fargu* and six more, and some led Horses. Instead of looking after *Foxes*, as they pretended when they went out, they rode strait to *Capelle*, which is about twenty five Leagues from *Brussels*, and is the first Town belonging to *France* on that side. Monsieur took his Leave of no body, nay not of Madam her self, whom he afterwards recommended by a Letter to the Queen-Mother. From thence he marched directly to *S. Germain*, where the King was, \* to whom he made abundance of Complements to beg his Pardon, and promis'd to be more obedient for the time to come. Those that were with him did the same, and the King received them all into Favour.

\* The 21<sup>st</sup>  
of October,  
Siri, *ibid.*  
p. 103.

The Cardinal came thither from *Ruel*, to visit the Duke in his Majesty's Presence. He assured him that he had been extreamly concerned that his Absence did not permit him to do him those Services which otherwise he had been ready to have done, and expressed a great deal of Joy that he was now able to serve him after his Return, which had been so long desired. The Duke told him that he was heartily sorry that he had not been undeceived sooner, and that for the time to come he wou'd follow his Advice, and then embraced him.

The next day the Duke went to *Ruel* to repay the Cardinal the Visit he had made him, and entertain'd him in private, where 'tis supposed he told him all that he knew. The Cardinal afterwards treated him very splendidly, and with extraordinary Honour. After this, Monsieur went to his Estate at *Limours*, within five Leagues of *Paris*.

The first Complements being now over, they began to discourse of Affairs, and laboured to perswade Monsieur to give his Consent that his Marriage shou'd be declared void. The Duke rejected this Proposal, as he had reason good, and alledged that his Conscience wou'd not permit him to disannul a Marriage, which after all cou'd not be justly condemned, although the King had not consented to it. Upon this the Cardinal sent several Divines to him, to cure him of these troublesome Scruples, for he was seldom unprovided of dexterous Casuists that knew how to accommodate his Passions to Religion. At first *Puilaurens* joyn'd with them; but because Monsieur cou'd

cou'd not be brought to relish the Cardinal's Gospel, it was suppos'd that this Favourite did not cordially represent the Matter to the Prince, although he told them that for his part, he was very well satisfied with their Reasons, but since they had not wrought any Conviction upon Monsieur, he would not pretend to force him. However, the Cardinal still kept to his Resolution to bestow his Cousin *Mademoiselle de Pont Chateau* upon him, although he was not willing that the Marriage should be yet consummated, which made some People suspect, that *Puilaurens* was not so much in the Cardinal's Favour as he believed.

The King, after he had paid to Monsieur the money which he had promis'd him, and expedited the Patents for *Puilaurens*, sent *F. Joseph* and *Bousbillier* to the Duke of Orleans, to tell him from him, that he wou'd never approve of his Marriage, though at the same time he wou'd never force him to marry again. Some more Divines were afterwards sent to him upon the same Errand; three of which were Jesuits, three Secular Priests, besides the General of the Fathers of the Oratory; but, in spite of all their Reasons deduced from Politicks, which were founded upon the Jealousie of the King and of his Minister, *Gaston*, contrary to his custom, still maintain'd that his Marriage was valid. He told them, that since the Parliament were able to find out no other Reason for the Nullity of this Marriage, but the pretended Constraint of the Princes of *Lorrain*, it was unquestionably lawful, since of his own proper motion he had demand'd their Sister of them, and that they durst not refuse him: That as for himself, he cou'd be content to live separated from his Wife to shew his Obedience to the King, but that he wou'd never consent to marry another. Thus these seven Divines, after they had harangued him three full Hours to perswade him to write to the King that he was convinced of the Nullity of his Marriage by their Reasons, returned without doing any thing.

*Puilaurens* began to be somewhat distrustful that the Cardinal intended to deceive him, when this Minister sent the Abbot of *Elbene* to Monsieur, who was then at *Blois*, to tell him, that the King was not displeas'd with his Conduct, and that the Cardinal desired *Puilaurens* to

1 6 3 4. come to *Paris* to marry the youngest Daughter of the Baron de *Pont-Chateau*. This News was exceeding welcome to *Puilaurens*, who before had some Thoughts of retiring into *England*. Upon this they return'd to Court, and the Duke of *Orleans* was again \* Regaled by the Cardinal at *Ruel*, and from thence went to *S. Germain*. Afterwards the King put out a Declaration, by which he restor'd Monsieur to his former Possessions, pardoned him for all that was past, and order'd it to be † registred in the Parliament of *Paris*. At the same time the Duke de *la Valette* married the eldest Daughter of the Baron de *Pont-Chateau*, and *Puilaurens* the youngest. The Count de *Guicke* also married a Relation of the Cardinal of the House of *Plessis Chivrai*, and their Marriages were kept the same day at the Arsenal with an extraordinary Magnificence. *Puilaurens* bought the Duchy of *Eguillon* of the Princess *Mary* for six hundred thousand Livres, and had very considerable Gratifications from the King; so that besides his Quality of Duke and Peer, in which he was received in the Parliament on the 16th of *December*, he had an Estate of above six hundred thousand Crowns a year.

After having thus related the Disorders of the Royal Family, and of Monsieur's Reconciliation, in which the Cardinal had no less a share than the King; 'twill be now necessary to pass to Foreign Affairs, which took up this Minister at the same time.

The Dutchess of \* *Lorrain*, Wife to Duke *Charles*, who had resided at *Nancy*, came by Order of the Court to *Paris*, where she arrived the last day of *April*, and was received with great Respect, and conducted to the Palace of *Lorrain*. From thence she went afterwards to *Fontainbleau*, where the King entertained her very courteously. However, as she apprehended that when she was at *Paris* they wou'd engage her in some Treaty, which might be contrary to the real Interests of her House, she had made a Declaration before she left *Nancy*, in the presence of a Notary, wherein she signified, that being obliged by the King's Command to go to *Paris*, she there protested, That whatever she might do prejudicial to the House of *Lorrain*, was to be reckon'd null, as being extorted by force.

There

\* *Sri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 87.

\* The 19th of  
Novemb.

† The 27th of  
November.

There was no longer any Discourse now in France to make use of this Prince's Name to keep *Lorrain*, nor of the Guardianship of the Places deliver'd up by Prince *Charles*. The King's Commissioners govern'd that Dutchy as if it had been a Conquer'd Province, and gathered the Revenues of it without any Disturbance from the Duke's Officers. They augmented the Imposts and Taxes, which exceedingly oppress'd the poor People, who still continued well affected to their ancient Princes. About this time an Edict of the Duke of *Lorrain* was stuck up in several places, wherein he prohibited his Subjects to obey the *French*, whom he called Usurpers and Tyrants. This Edict gave such Offence at Court, because they imagined the *Lorrainers* knew the Contents of it to be true, that they immediately order'd the Parliament to re-assume the Process which had for some time been discontinued against the Duke, as a Vassal of the Crown, as well for the pretended Rape of Monsieur, as for several other notorious Misdemeanours. For this end the Parliament sent to Duke *Charles* to make his personal Appearance on a day appointed at the Palace of *Lorrain*, without having any regard to the Dutchess that lived there, and complain'd of it to the Cardinal to no purpose.

While the Dutchess was at *Paris*, the Marechal de la *Force* took the Castle of *Biche*, and afterwards *La Mothe*, which surrender'd by Composition on the 28th of *July*, after which there remained no other places in *Lorrain* that durst hold out for the ancient Lords of this Country.

\* So the Parliament having confiscated the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Cardinal caused the Decree to be executed with all imaginable Vigour. He erected a Court of Justice at *Nancy*, which adjudged to the King abundance of Places in *Lorrain*, as having been alienated from the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*. He likewise got the Remainder of *Lorrain* to be solemnly seized upon, towards the Expences of the War, and obliged the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King. This Country was now look'd upon to be part of the Kingdom, which had formerly been taken from it by Usurpation and Violence; so that now they said it was but just to re-unite it to the

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 81  
p. 108.



1 6 3 4. Crown; and to hinder the *Lorrainers* from making any Insurrections for the future, they caused several places to be dismantled, where they might have lodged themselves, unless the King would have kept Garrisons there, which would have required a prodigious Expence.

The Cardinal had all along kept a mighty correspondence with the *Swedes*, till such time as he thought he might be able to effect by *Wallestein's* means a great part of what he did by the help of the *Swedish* Army. This man had got it into his Head to make himself be crown'd King of *Bohemia*, and to employ the Emperours Army against himself. He maintain'd a private Commerce with the Marquiss *de Feuquieres*, the King's Ambassador in *Germany*, and the King promis'd to assist him. As *Wallestein* pass'd for one of the chief Captains of his time, and was extremely beloved by the Soldiery, it was probable that he would at least give the Emperour a great deal of Trouble. It appears that upon this Expectation the Cardinal did not manage the *Swedish* Generals and Chancellour *Oxenstern* with that Address as he had formerly done. \* There was likewise a sort of a Difference between them, because they had refused to surrender *Philipsburg* to the King, of which place they had made themselves Masters by composition. The King already was in possession of several Towns in *Alsacia*, the Bishoprick of *Triers*, and in the Neighbourhood; but *Philipsburg* was necessary to him to secure and cover part of them.

While this Coldness between the Cardinal and the *Swedes* lasted, the Emperour having discover'd part of *Wallestein's* Designs, † caused him to be killed at *Egra*, a City of *Silesia*, to which place he had retir'd; and so those Projects which the Cardinal had formed, in hopes that *Wallestein* would in a short time begin to act in concert with *France*, vanish'd in smoak. This News arriving to the King's Ears, he publickly said, That all those that betrayed their Prince deserved the same fate. As for the Cardinal, he was so concern'd at his Death, that he could not forbear saying, That the King might very well have spar'd to explain his Sentiments in publick. From this time it was necessary to shew a greater Regard to the *Swedes*, who did not so much propose to themselves to free

\* See  
Mem. Rec.  
T. 6. P. 32.

† The 15th of  
February.  
See Hist.  
P. 53.

free *Germany* from the Yoke of the House of *Austria*, as to gain some Advantage by the War. 1634.

Upon the Occasion of *Wallestein's* Death, the King, considering the great Danger the Cardinal was in, by reason of the frequent Attempts that had been made upon his Life, thought it convenient to augment the Number of his Guards. Besides those he had before, he gave him 300 Musqueteers on Horseback; so that the Cardinal had now a compleat Set of Guards, while the Queen-Mother was obliged to dismiss those of her Domesticks that were not of absolute necessity to her, because she had not wherewith to maintain them.

The *French* accused Chancellour \* *Oxenstern* of De-  
signing to possess himself of the Electorate of *Mentz*; and 'tis reported that Cardinal *Richlieu* had the like Ambition to make himself Elector of *Triers*. To compass his Ends, he obtained of the Elector, by a good round Sum of Money, the Coadjutorship of the Bishoprick of *Spire*, and engaged him to send one of the Canons of the Church to *Rome*, to get his Bulls expedited for that place, as of his own proper motion, so that he might not be obliged to appear himself in this Affair. He only caus'd a Letter to be writ to the Count *de Noailles*, who had been lately sent Ambassadour to *Rome*, to support the Demand of the Canon whom the Elector of *Triers* sent thither, and to talk with the Pope and the *Barberini's* about it. The first time that the \* Ambassadour mention'd it to the Pope, his Holiness answered, that it was not a thing to be done, as being opposite to the Concordats of *Germany*. *Noailles*, at his second Audience upon this Affair, represented to the Pope, That since the *Swedes* were Masters of *Spire*, there was no other way to preserve the Catholick Religion in that City, but by granting the Cardinal his Bulls to make him Coadjutor there. He maintain'd besides, that there was nothing in the Concordats of *Germany* which made a Foreigner incapable to be Bishop of *Spire*. The Pope sent back the Ambassadour to the Cardinal of the Dataray; and as the Court of *Rome* is seldom guilty of acting with Precipitation, the Emperour had time enough to be informed of Cardinal *Richlieu's* Design, and laid such powerful Impediments in the way, that this Affair came to nothing.

\* *Six Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
p. 647.

\* *Six Mem.*  
T. 9. p. 113

\* In September.

1634.

• The 6th of  
Septemb.

At the same time the Duke of *Weimar*, and Marechal *Horn*, the *Swedish* Generals, \* lost the famous Battel of *Norlingue*, which put their Affairs in a bad condition, and gave terrible Apprehensions to the Cardinal as soon as he received the News. He was afraid that the Imperialists wou'd utterly ruine the other Party in a short time, because they only subsisted by their Victories. If that once happen'd, it was justly to be feared that the Emperour's Forces wou'd pour into *Lorraine*, while the *Spaniards* enter'd *France* by the way of *Picardy* or *Champagne*. Besides, the latter threatned to make a Descent upon *Provence*, and attack *Languedoc* by Sea. Besides, they had just reason to suspect that the Duke of *Savoy* wou'd joyn them, because they had not kept their Promise with him as to the Sum they had agreed to pay him for *Pignerol*. He caus'd *Turin* and *Montmelian* to be fortified, and had given some other signs of his being discontented. All this gave a great deal of Inquietude to the Cardinal, \* who had a long Conversation with Father *Jeseph* about it; and they concluded that the Protestant League was in very great danger, because they were not in a condition to bring an Army into the Field presently: so that it was absolutely necessary to relieve them with all speed, as they desired. *Oxenstern* and the Confederates who had formerly refused to deliver up *Philipsburg* to *France*, were now willing to surrender it, and consented to have a Bridge built there, and a Fort on the other side the *Rhine*, to defend it.

• The 13th of  
September.  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 163.

Thus the Affairs of *Germany* coming to be debated in the Council, the Cardinal was of opinion, ' That nothing could so much prejudice his Majesty's Affairs as ' to express any consternation at the Defeat of *Norlingue*: ' That if the Protestant Party was entirely ruined in *Germany*, all the Forces of the House of *Austria* wou'd ' pour down like a Torrent upon *France*: That the condition of the Protestants demanded a speedy and vigorous Relief, and a Name capable of giving courage to ' the Imperial Cities, who would otherwise disengage ' themselves from the League, and make a separate ' Peace, as well as the other Members of which it was ' composed: That although *France* should refuse to interpose in the Affairs of *Germany*, yet the House of ' *Austria*

' *Austria* would be no less provoked against her, and  
 ' only believe that this proceeded from her Weakness and  
 ' Fear: That his Majesty cou'd not possibly act worse  
 ' than so to manage Matters as to let *France* alone sustain  
 ' the shock of *Austria*, which wou'd most infallibly hap-  
 ' pen if they did not take care to maintain the Party  
 ' which had given that House so much trouble for so  
 ' many years: That in resolving to support them, the  
 ' worst that cou'd fall out was to keep up the War in  
 ' *Germany* by the Assistance of the Confederate Protestant  
 ' Princes; whereas otherwise they must soon expect to  
 ' behold the same War in the heart of *France*, without  
 ' having any Friends to help them: That therefore the  
 ' best way wou'd be to encourage these Princes, to find  
 ' out Money, and raise sufficient Forces to strengthen  
 ' the Army of the *Mareschals de la Force* and *de Brezé*,  
 ' who were appointed to command in *Germany*.

This Advice was follow'd, and Orders were sent in  
 the mean time to the *Mareschal de la Force*, who was in  
*Lorrain*, to advance towards the *Rhine* to oppose the  
 progress of the Imperialists, that already threaten'd to  
 joyn the Army of the *Marquis d'Aytrone* and of Prince  
*Thomas*, and with them to enter *Lorrain*. Several places  
 of *Alsacia* and the *Palatinate*, which the *Swedes* were  
 forced to abandon to form an Army out of the Forces of  
 these Garrisons, put themselves under the protection of  
*France*, that they might not fall into the hands of the Im-  
 perialists. The *Mareschal de la Force* marched with 25000  
 Foot, and 4000 Horse towards the *Rhine* between *Cob-  
 lentz* and *Brisac*, and in the interim a new Treaty was  
 concluded with the Protestant Confederates, who were  
 promis'd great Supplies of Men and Money. In conse-  
 quence of this Treaty, the *Swedes* delivered \* *Philipsburg*  
 to the *French*, and the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was  
 to be Governour of the place, took the Oaths of Fide-  
 lity to the King. The Cardinal was extremely glad to  
 see so important a City in the hands of his Majesty, it  
 being capable to stop the Imperialists, in case they de-  
 signed to pass the *Rhine*, to make their way into *Lorrain*;  
 and the *Mareschal de la Force* was order'd not to stir far  
 from it, least the Enemies shou'd attempt to carry it by  
 force.

\* The 7th of  
 October.

1634.

*Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 8.*  
*P. 180, &c.*

The Marquis *de Rôny*, who was Grand Master of the Artillery of *France*, being dead, the Cardinal procured this place to be given to the Marquis *de la Meilleroy*s, his Cousin, who had exercised it by Commission ever since the Marquis *de Rôny* was obliged to leave the Court. Not long after a Report was spread abroad, that the King was disgusted with the Cardinal, because this Prelate perswaded him to go in person upon the Frontiers of *Germany*, to encourage the Protestant Party. The King was better pleas'd to live at one of his Houses of Pleasure near *Paris*, than to engage himself in so tedious a Journey. 'Tis pretended by some, that his Confessor put some Scruples into his Head, for assisting the Hereticks, for the Banishment of the Queen-Mother, and his Invasion of *Lorrain*. It was some time before he wou'd see the Cardinal; but the latter having consulted eight Divines of the *Sorbone* upon his Majesty's Scruples, four of them made Answer, that in the present conjuncture of Affairs, his Majesty was obliged to continue to act upon the same foot, to preserve Tranquillity in his Kingdom, and that this sufficiently justified his Conduct. Soon after, the King began a-fresh to visit the Cardinal, and did him the honour to come to the Castle of *Chilly*, where this Minister then was, to consult with him as formerly about the most important Affairs of the Crown.

*The End of the Fourth Book*

THE



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# THE HISTORY

Of the FAMOUS  
Cardinal *de RICHLIEU*.

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VOL. II. BOOK V.

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*Containing the most material Passages of his  
Life, from the Year 1635 to the Year 1638.*

**T**HE Duke of *Orleans* being now taken into Favour, and *Puilaurens* his Confident seeing himself a Duke and Peer of *France*, they imagined that they had nothing more to fear, and that they might manage the Cardinal as they had formerly done. \* So this Minister having sent word to *Puilaurens* that if he cou'd persuade Monsieur to consent to have his Marriage annull'd, they wou'd reward him with the Command of an Army, and make him a Mareschal of *France*; *Puilaurens* laughed at this proposal, and thought he might railly he Cardinal safely enough. *Coudrai Montpensier*, who had

1635.

• *Siri Me*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 107.

1635. had the greatest credit with the Duke of Orleans next to *Puilaurens*, was of the same humour, and had as little Inclination to comply with the Minister's pleasure as the other. The Cardinal fancied he was the Man that possessed *Philarens* with these ambitious Thoughts; so that he resolved to remove him. Upon this he tells *Puilaurens*, that since he had contracted so near an Alliance with him, he was desirous to be united still more closely to him, but that he cou'd not do it, so long as he kept Company with *Coudrai Montpensier*, and reckoned him one of his best Friends. Whether *Philarens* distrusted that the Cardinal had some Design upon him, or else was resolved to pay no farther regard to this Minister, instead of discarding him, as he was desired, he gave him the next Apartment to his own; which procedure began to incense the Cardinal, whom all the other Ministers obeyed at the first word, and who cou'd not digest this Opposition from the Favourite of the Duke of Orleans, whom he had so far honour'd, as to give him one of his Relations in Marriage.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 1.*  
*P. 199, &c.*

Monsieur generally resided at *Blois*, and \* it happen'd while he was there, that several *Spaniards* of Quality who travell'd from *Flanders* to *Spain* by Land, came to *Blois* to pay their Respects to him, who received them very courteously. He frequently mention'd the Gentlemen of that Country with great esteem, as if he intended to shew his Gratitude for the kind Reception he found among them, and engage them to use Madam well, who still continued in their Territories. This made Don *Cristoval Benavides*, the *Spanish* Ambassadour, say, That although Monsieur left the *Low-Countries* without taking his leave; yet if he went thither a hundred times, and came back as often after the same manner, he should still find a hearty Welcome there. This Conduct of Monsieur, and the Discourses of the *Spaniards*, gave the Ministers occasion to suspect, that he still kept some private Intelligence with them, or at least preserv'd an Affection to that Nation, which might be prejudicial to *France* in the present posture of Affairs. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans continually protested, that if the King cou'd find any way to dissolve his Marriage legally, he wou'd not oppose it; but that he wou'd never go to tell the

the Parliament a Sham-story that he was forced to this Match by the Princes of *Lorrain*, since he cou'd neither do it in Conscience nor in Honour. He praised the Princess *Margaret* exceedingly, and prefer'd her infinitely, for her good Qualities, to his first Wife. He frequently writ to her, and sent her Money, Cloaths, Liveries for her Servants, two Coaches, and five thousand Crowns a Month towards her Expence.

The Cardinal was of opinion, that this inflexible steadiness of Monsieur cou'd only proceed from the Advice of *Puilaurens*: nay, he pretended that this shew'd him to be ill affected to the King's Person, and that he desired to behold the Duke of *Orleans* upon the Throne, that he might become chief Minister of State; as if the Marriage of Monsieur had any relation to the King's Death. *Puilaurens* was accused of being familiarly acquainted with one *Vieux-Pont*, a Domestick of Monsieur, who had spoken scandalously of His Majesty. He was likewise charged with keeping a correspondence with the House of *Lorrain*; and that the reason why he approved this Marriage was, that this House might support the Prince, in case the King happen'd to die. Thus it was interpreted a Crime in the Duke of *Orleans*, because he wou'd not depend upon the Discretion of the Minister for his Succession to the Crown; and yet this Minister must be allow'd to take what Securities he pleas'd against the whole Royal Family, and all the Princes of the Blood.

The Cardinal, who had always taken great care to keep up that Jealousie which the King ever since his Infancy had entertain'd against his Brother, easily perswaded him that all these Practices of Monsieur only tended to dethrone him, and that there was no other way to prevent the Designs of his Domesticks, but to destroy them. So the King was resolv'd to apprehend *Puilaurens*; and that he might execute it with more facility, they were contriving of means to draw him from *Blou* to *Paris*. To effect this, a Ball was propos'd at the *Carnaval*, Where Monsieur and *Puilaurens* were invited to dance, as well as the King. They came to *Paris* upon this Occasion, and Monsieur was mightily caress'd on all hands, though they cou'd not prevail with him to make

1635. make the least step towards the Dissolution of his Marriage.

The 14th of February was the Day agreed upon to apprehend *Puilaurens*; and the Guards at the *Louvre* were order'd to be doubled. This had like to have discovered their Plot; for a Footman belonging to the Duke of *Orleans* having observed it, went to his Master to bid him have a care of himself, because the Court had some extraordinary Design on foot. This Prince came to the *Louvre* about Two a clock in the Afternoon, to practise the Ball before-hand, when he received this Advice; but as foresight was none of his Talents, he neglected it, and went to the King's Chamber, where he stayed till the Cardinal came there. They had sent to find him out at the Keeper of the Seals, where he dined, and carried the Marquis *Du Fargis* and *Coudrai Montpensier* with him. When he went away he took *du Fargis* to the *Louvre* along with him, and gave Orders for the other to be apprehended when he offer'd to be gone; which was accordingly executed. Every thing was ready at the *Louvre* to begin the Ball, and none of the Company were wanting but only *Puilaurens*, who made the rest wait above half an hour after the time appointed; which made the King and the Cardinal suspect that he was inform'd of the Design against him. At last he came, and after he had discoursed some time with the King, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal, and other Noblemen of the Court that were present, the King took Monsieur by the hand, and led him to his Closet. This was the Signal they agreed upon with the Marquis *de Gordes*, and the Count *de Charot*, Captains of the Life-Guards, when they were to arrest *Puilaurens* and *du Fargis*.

They immediately executed the King's Orders, and these two Domesticks of the Monsieur were taken up without any noise. The King, as soon as he had received notice of it, told this Prince what he had done, and at the same time embraced him, and assured him that he was perfectly well satisfied with him. He added that *Puilaurens* was an ungrateful Wretch, and that Monsieur cou'd never expect to be well serv'd by him, after his horrid Ingratitude to the Crown which had been so kind to him. The Duke seem'd to be somewhat concern'd

at it; but fearing to be served after the same manner himself, he said he would abandon *Puilaurens* for ever, if he had made any unhandsome Returns to His Majesty's Favours. The Cardinal came afterwards into the King's Closet, whose Presence hearten'd Monsieur a little, for he concluded that if there had been any Design to apprehend him, the Cardinal durst not appear in that place. This Minister complimented him afresh, and assured him it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that for the future he shou'd assist at the Council. Monsieur asked him whether the King gave him leave to stir out of the *Louvre*, and go to the Palace of *Guise*, where he lodged. The Cardinal told him he might go when he pleased; so this Prince, after he had waited upon the Queen at her Apartment, where the King then was, retired. Nevertheless he returned to the *Louvre* towards the Evening, although several of his Domesticks had been seized. *Puilaurens* and *du Fargis* lay at the *Louvre*, and were conducted the next day to the Castle of *Vincennes*; but *Coudrai Montpensier* was carried to the *Bastile*.

Upon this the King publish'd a circular Letter, which was sent to the Parliaments, and to the Governours of Provinces, to acquaint them, that he had been obliged, for several weighty Reasons, to apprehend some of Monsieur's Domesticks. It was penn'd in an obscure style, because the Prisoners were not as yet convicted of any crime; but most People concluded, that the chief Minister had caused *Puilaurens* to be confin'd, because he cou'd not trust him any longer, and that he wou'd perhaps carry his Revenge farther. *Richlieu* sent the Cardinal *de la Valette* and *Boushillier* to Monsieur, to give him fresh Assurances, that he was wholly at his Service, and to tell him, he was heartily sorry that *Puilaurens* had forced the King, by committing fresh crimes, to take so rigorous a course with him. It was observed that the Cardinal did not go himself to the Palace of *Guise*, fearing perhaps least a fancy should take the Duke of *Orleans* to revenge this ill Usage. This Prince told them, that he had promis'd to be a faithful Servant to the King, and a Friend of the Cardinal, and that he wou'd keep his Word: That if he found *Puilaurens* was really guilty, let his fault be what it wou'd, he wou'd be



1635. be so far from making any Intercession for him, that he wou'd be the first man that shou'd demand Justice upon him: That he did not believe he had committed any new crimes: and, That if he kept any commerce with *Vieux-Pont*, it was about some matters of Gallantry in *Islanders*, and not Affairs of State: That if they thought it proceeded from the Advice of *Puilaurens*, that he stuck to his Marriage, they were mightily deceived: and, That neither *Puilaurens*, nor any other man in the World, shou'd make him give his consent to a Thing which he believ'd to be against his conscience. This unalterable Resolution of *Gaston* strangely perplex'd the Cardinal, who cou'd not endure to see him married to a Princess whose family he had so lately ruin'd. It was likewise no small Mortification to the Minister, that People laugh'd at the *Arrest* which he had sent to the Parliament, by which they were to declare, that Monsieur cou'd not contract a Marriage in *Lorraine*.

\* The first of  
July.

After this, the Duke of *Orleans* return'd to *Blou*; from which place, merely for his Diversion, he took a Journey as far as *Nantes*, which made the Court believe that he went thither to ship himself for *England*; but his Return dissipated the Fears they began to entertain that he wou'd go out of the Kingdom again. In the mean time *Puilaurens* died at *Vincennes*\*, after a few days sickness, which his Vexation, as well as his close Imprisonment, threw him into. The Duke of *Orleans* was extremely concern'd at the News; and this was the second of his Favourites whom the Cardinal had caus'd to die in Prison, without convicting them of any other crime than that unpardonable one of not being over-devoted to his Pleasure. Few people regretted the death of *Puilaurens*, whose Pride and Arrogance had render'd him insupportable to all Mankind. Ever since his Confinement the Court had given Monsieur a Council, composed of such persons as had an entire Dependence upon the Cardinal. *Bonabillier* was the chief of it, with the Title of Chancellor; and the others were the Abbot of *Elbene*, *Goulas* his Secretary, and the Abbot of *La Riviere* his Chaplain.

Not long after, the Cardinal summon'd the Clergy of France to meet at *Paris*, and the King sent to the Assembly

sembly to know of them what were their Sentiments concerning the Marriages of the Princes of the Blood, who might pretend to the Succession of the Crown, and particularly of those that stood nearest to it, when they were made not only without his Majesty's consent, but even against his express Prohibition. Upon this the Assembly deputed certain Bishops to consult about this Affair, with several Divines, both Regulars and Seculars. These Bishops having \* made their Report to the Assembly, they return'd their Answer the next day, just as the Cardinal desired, That Marriages might be render'd null, by ancient Customs granted upon Reason, and authorized by the Church: That the Custom of *France* did not allow the Princes of the Blood, but especially the Presumptive Heirs of the Crown, to marry without the King's Consent, and much less against his positive Commands: That Marriages of this nature were illegitimate and void, for want of an essential Condition, without which Princes cou'd not marry lawfully: That this Custom of *France* was reasonable, ancient, established by a legal Prescription, and authorized by the Church. The Queen-Mother having received Advice of this Declaration, writ to *Rome* to desire his Holiness to forbid the Clergy of *France* to interpose in this Affair; because it was notorious to all the World, that this Convocation was almost wholly composed of Court-Bishops, who to advance their own Fortunes, were ready to say every thing the King and his Minister wou'd have them; and that if it was the King's Pleasure, nay if one of his Ministers was of a different Opinion, they wou'd find no Difficulty to frame another Declaration directly opposite to the former.

1635.

\* The 6th of July.

Left the *Spaniards* might obtain of the Pope a Declaration contrary to that of the Clergy of *France*, or lest his Holiness might express his Dislike of it, † the King sent the Bishop of *Montpellier* to *Rome*, to instruct him for what Reasons they had declared the Marriage of his Brother to be null. But he was expressly ordered, not to let fall the least Word by which it might be gather'd that the King had sent him thither, as having any occasion for the Papal Authority to support his Right, or as if the Nullity of Monsieur's Marriage was doubtful. He was

† The 1st of October.

1635. was only commanded to inform the Pope what dangerous consequences an Alliance with the House of Lorraine might derive upon the Crown, and to represent to him the several just Reasons his Majesty had to complain of the Principles of that Family.

\* In May.  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
272.

† The 25th of  
May.  
Siri, *ibid.*

‡ The 1st of  
June.  
Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 4.  
Cap. 53.

\* See it in  
Aubery's  
Life of the  
Cardinal, lib.  
4. 4. 5.

† Dated the  
Last of Aug.  
Aubery, *ibid.*

‡ Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 359.

The Queen-Mother had sent the Viscount *Fabroni*, some months before, to *Rome*, to be her Resident at that Court, and endeavour to persuade the Pope to employ his Interest to reconcile her to the King, since she cou'd not prevail upon the Cardinal, who was resolved to let her die out of the Kingdom. † At the same time she writ to the Pope, to prevent the two Crowns from coming to an open Rupture, and to procure a general Peace to *Europe*. In another Letter, which almost contains the same Things, ‡ she nominated for her Resident not the Viscount, but the Abbot *Fabroni*, her Almoner. The Queen-Mother owns in this Letter, that she had dispatched a Gentleman to the Emperour to incline him to a Peace; perhaps out of this consideration, That when it came to be concluded, she might be comprehended in it, and so might once more see *France* in spight of the Cardinal. She had likewise sent to the King of *Spain*, for the same Reason, as it appear'd by another of her Letters to \* *Mazarine*, Nuncio extraordinary in *France*. As the Cardinal was the chief man that had voted for declaring a War against *Spain*, to render himself more necessary to the King than he wou'd have been in time of Peace, she thought it wou'd be no small Mortification to him to see her take the contrary Party, which besides was more suitable for her self, who was Mother to the King of *France*, and to the Queen of *Spain*, than that which this Minister had persuaded the King to take.

Some time after, she writ a long † Letter to the King, which she address'd to *Mazarine*, as not knowing how to have it brought any other way to his Majesty. But she was mightily mistaken in her man; for *Mazarine* was entirely devoted to the Minister, without troubling himself whether this was conformable to his Character of Nuncio. Thus he deliver'd it into the Cardinal's hands; ‡ who cou'd have been content to suppress it, but durst not do it, because he understood that the Queen had sent other Copies of the Letter to be carried to the King.

King. The Expedient he made use of, to hinder this Letter from producing any effect, was, to accuse the Queen-Mother for having endeavour'd to corrupt the Duke of Rohan, in favour of the Spaniards, by the means of one *Clausel*, who was hanged for that reason. The Contents of this Letter principally related to the War, from which the Queen endeavour'd to dissuade her Son by all manner of Arguments. She told him, among other Things, *That War is never just but when it is necessary, and that the Justice and Necessity of it are only founded upon Preservation and Defence, which are not lawful but when all other means are insufficient; that War is an Evil which is not tolerated but to avoid a greater: And what Evil, continued she, are you constrain'd to avoid? and what Advantage can you expect equal to the Loss you expose your self to? Hitherto you have been the Arbitrator of Peace and War, but so soon as you quit the Quality of a Judge for that of a Party, neither of the two will any longer depend upon you. The Forces, the Conduct, and the Interests of your Enemies will be balanced with yours. The disproportion between them not being extraordinary, consequently the Success cannot be infallible; and if they are uncertain, how can you be assur'd that the ill, which must of necessity happen to one of the two Parties, will not fall upon yours.* She afterwards represented to him the Mischiefs which France might suffer by this War, and told him, that his Father had always recommended to her to keep the Kingdom in Peace with her Neighbours; and that if ever she saw the King her Son ready to declare War against them, *She was to conjure him by his ashes, and by his memory, not to come to those Extremities; or if he happen'd to be engaged in them, she shou'd perswade him to bring a speedy remedy to them, and listen to a Peace, as being the properest means to preserve what he had left him, having purchased it with his own blood, and by the perils and fatigues of twenty years.*

*Mazarins*, to acquit himself outwardly of his Duty as Nuncio Extraordinary, who was sent on purpose for the Peace, desired the King to answer this Letter; but the King refus'd to do it. He alledg'd, for the reason of his silence, that if he answer'd a Letter so seditious, so much inclining to the Spanish Interest, and so full of pretended



1 6 3 5. Affection, while the Queen-Mother endeavour'd to corrupt the Duke of *Roban*, he shou'd be forced to lay before him the great Injury she did to *France*: That she made a great Bustle about the Advice of the late King, to maintain a Peace with *Spain*; but that the design of it was, to decry the present Government, to render the Cardinal odious, and to cause an Insurrection of the People: That when the Queen-Mother wou'd carry her self truly like a Mother, he wou'd honour her as such; and that it was purely out of respect to her, that he wou'd not answer her Letter; but that the Nuncio might return her such an Answer as he shou'd think convenient.

\* *Siri*, *Ibid*.  
p. 160.

All this while \* Monsieur continued firm in his Resolution not to agree to have his Marriage declared null. All that they cou'd draw from him was, That if the Pope declared he might marry again in Conscience, he wou'd do whatever the King desired of him: probably because he knew the Court of *Rome* wou'd never consent to it. He only expressed himself in this manner when he was at Court; for when he was at home, he did not speak a word, not daring to open his mind to any of those that were about him, whom he knew to be the Cardinal's Creatures. He often appeared extreamly thoughtful and melancholy, so that nothing cou'd divert him.

People remark'd another thing at Court, which was, That the Cardinal had so ordered Affairs that the Privy-Council met at his Palace at *Ruel*, whither the King himself was used to come from *S. Germain* or *Versailles*. It is true indeed, he excused it upon the score of his Illness, but as his Indisposition was not so great but he cou'd walk out in his Garden, several persons were of opinion that he was afraid of being in a place where he was not the strongest. If he went at any time to *S. Germain*, it was at such times as no body cou'd tell whether he wou'd go thither or no, as if he did it purposely to break any measures that might be taken against him. But after all, if the King was resolved to destroy him, all these precautions were useless; for he had found in a moment, all the Court and Kingdom upon his hands. The Princes of the Blood whom he treated so disrespectfully, and the People whom he daily oppressed with new Imposts and Taxes, equally bared him, and nothing was capable to save



save him. Thus this mighty Authority, founded wholly upon the King's Weakness, and a perpetual series of Acts of Violence, was attended with no little Inquietude. 1635.

In the mean time the Cardinal, being resolved to preserve his post by the same ways as he had hitherto used, continued to act with the same heat against the Queen-Mother. As soon as he knew that Abbot *Fabbroni* was at *Rome* in Quality of Resident from the Queen-Mother, he complain'd of it to the Pope by the Count *de Noailles*, who told him, That the Queen-Mother not being a Sovereign, but a Subject of the King, had no right to keep a Resident at *Rome*, and that she ought to have recourse to the Ambassadour of *France*. The Pope answered, that simple Bishops had their Agents there, and that there were several Examples of the like nature. But whether he sent to inform *Fabbroni* of it, or whether the latter was afraid of having some Affront put upon him, he retired immediately to *Florence*, and thus eas'd the Cardinal of the trouble to get him removed from that place.

The Queen-Mother provoked to the highest degree to find her Design of keeping a Resident at *Rome* thus opposed, writ a long \* Letter to the Pope, wherein she described the Cardinal's Conduct in very severe terms. She told him that this Minister, who set the Ambassadour upon such an impertinent Harangue, very foolishly urged that she was to make use of the King's Ambassadour, a thing against common sense, it being certain that these Ambassadours wou'd concern themselves in nothing she desired them to do, without an express Order from the King: That it was impossible for her to get any thing deliver'd to His Majesty, since Cardinal *Richlieu* had deprived her of all means of acquainting him with her Circumstances, by Letters, or otherwise: That the Ambassadours who absolutely depended upon the good Will of the Cardinal, were obliged to act according to the Passions of this Minister, to avoid the loss of their Lives, their Estates, and Honours. That thus they treated, with no other Design but to foment the Divisions that were between the Christian Princes, to carry Subjects to Rebellion against their Sovereigns, and to set all Christendom in a Flame: That they continually talked of a Peace

\* Dated  
Dec. 7. See  
Aubrey, l. 4.  
c. 54.

1635. without ever designing to effect it : That they made no  
 ~~~~~ Scruple to overturn all Laws, both Divine and Humane,  
 to fly directly in the face of the Apostolick Authority,  
 and to violate the Sacraments of the Church, by their  
 endeavouring to break off the Marriage of the Duke of  
*Orleans* : That she desir'd the Pope to allow her the Fa-  
 vour to keep a Resident, to give him an Account of all  
 that she knew, which might facilitate a General Peace :  
 That the Cardinal abundantly discovered his Hatred and  
 Malice against her by seeking to rob her of an Honour  
 which belonged to her : That the King had no hand in  
 these Violences, and that he durst not open his mind to  
 those that were about him, who were all gained over to  
 the Cardinal by Bribes, or else aw'd out of their Duty  
 by the fear of punishment : That he attempted by his  
 Threats to gain an Absolute power over his Holiness ;  
 but that she cou'd assure the Pope, that although the  
 Cardinal was capable of all sorts of Wickedness, yet he  
 was of so fearful a Temper, that he durst never under-  
 take so horrible and so impious an Attempt as that was  
 with which he had threaten'd him, (*She means his design*  
*perhaps to make himself Patriarch of France :*) That the  
 Emperour and Catholick King had not condemn'd the  
 Affection she expres'd towards *France*, nor disapproved  
 of her Desires of a Peace, but on the contrary, had  
 esteem'd her the more for it : That the Cardinal wou'd  
 rather consent to have all *France* embroil'd, than suffer  
 her to concern her self about a Peace. In the whole  
 course of this Letter, she represents the King as more  
 depending upon his Minister than the Minister upon him,  
 although she seems desirous to excuse the King all along.

However, this Letter produced no effect, since, as it  
 has been already said, *Fabroni* was forced to withdraw  
 to *Florence* ; and the Efforts the Queen-Mother used to  
 incline *France* to a Peace, had no better Success.

This same Year the Cardinal gave several Mortifica-  
 tions to the Count de *Soissons*, who having occasion to  
 complain of the Marquis de *Seneterre*, was obliged to dis-  
 semble his Resentments in consideration of the Minister,  
 who gave the Countess of *Soissons*, his Mother, to under-  
 stand, that he had taken *Seneterre* into his protection.  
 The Count afterwards made the Cardinal a Visit, which

† Siri  
 Mem. Rec.T.  
 s. p. 207.

was a thing he had never done before, because he cou'd not suffer this Prelate to take the Right-hand of him at his House, according to the custom of *Rome*.

In the midst of these Disorders and Quarrels in the Royal Family, which I have related together, that I might not interrupt the series of Foreign Affairs, the Cardinal employ'd his Majesty's Forces against the House of *Austria* with that unwearied Application and Vigour as if nothing else had taken up his Thoughts.

After several Proposals, to no purpose, concerning the means of accommodating the Differences of the Crowns by the way of Negotiation, they began on both sides to make preparations for an open War. \* About the beginning of this Year *Philipsburg* was surprized by the Imperialists, under the conduct of *Braumberger*, who had been Governour of the place before it fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. Some Soldiers, apparell'd like Peasants, and driving some Waggon's laden with Wine, cut the Throats of the *Corps de Garde*; while *Braumberger* scaled the place on another side; and this was done so suddenly, that the *French* Garrison were made Prisoners, together with the Governour, before they were in a condition to defend themselves, or make their Escape. The Cardinal received this unwelcome News with extraordinary concern, by reason of the Importance of the place, and the great Booty which the Enemies found there. The Magazines were full of all sorts of Ammunition and Provision, and there was above two hundred thousand Crowns in ready money, to supply the Necessities of the Army, which was in Winter-Quarters in *Bergstraet*. Besides this, this place had cost four hundred thousand Crowns, which they gave the *Swedes*, to oblige them to deliver it up to *France*; and the Cardinal's Flatterers had published, that his Eminence had found a way to make the strongest place in *Germany* fall into the King's hands without so much as drawing a Sword for it, which served to bridle the *Palatinate* and several other Territories, which was a secure Pass upon the *Rhine*, and where an Arsenal and Magazine might be made, by the means of which, they might, whenever they pleas'd, carry the War into the very heart of *Germany*. The greater Value the Cardinal had set upon this Acquisition, the

\* The 24th of January.

1635. more did the Loss of it mortifie him. The King likewise was so concerned at this Disgrace, that whereas he was wholly employ'd about the Cloaths for the Ball above-mentioned, he retired the next day to *Versailles*, which wonderfully displeased the Cardinal, who wou'd have fain dissembl'd this Loss. Nevertheless, not finding himself fit to attend State-Affairs in the present Agitation of his Mind, he went to *Ruel*, under a pretence that his Health required it; and 'tis reported, that the King went to *Versailles* before, to give him an opportunity to leave *Paris*. Father *Joseph* who was related to *Arnaud* the Governour, and who had procured him that Employment, was under no less a Confusion, while the Enemies of the Cardinal and his Confident rejoiced to see their Vanity punished.

To prevent the dangerous Consequences which the Loss of *Philipsburg* might occasion, Orders were dispatched to the Mareschals de la Force and de Brezé, not to stir from *Bergstraat*, till *Manheim* and *Heidelberg* were fortified as well as their Situation would permit. After this, it was judged expedient that the Duke of *Weimar* should joyn his Army with that of his Majesty, to beat the Imperialists out of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and to deliver *Ulm*, *Norimberg*, and *Ausburg*. *Feuquieres* also was sent back into *Germany* to be present at the Meeting of the four Circles, which was to be at *Wormes*, and to encourage all the Confederates to act with greater Vigour and Resolution. In the mean time great \* preparations were made in *France* to raise and keep on foot a hundred and fifty thousand Men the next Campaign, in several places, where *France* was obliged to keep Armies.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
218.

The Result of the Diet of *Wormes* was, That the King of *France* should be forthwith acquainted that they wou'd act with all imaginable Vigour for the Common Cause; and that they desired him at the same time to pay the Army of the Circles commanded by the Duke of *Weimar*, consisting of seven thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. This was a small Army, but they had none but brave experienc'd Men in it, and the Officers were all Soldiers of Fortune, who expected to raise their Fortune no other way but by the Sword. But the *Swedish* Army command-

commanded by *Jean Banier*, had near fifty thousand men, with some Troops of the Allies. Thus notwithstanding the Loss of *Philipsburg*, they took fresh Courage, and flatter'd themselves, that if *France* assisted them, they shou'd be able to beat the Imperialists back into *Austria*. On the other side the Imperial Generals, *Charles Duke of Lorrain*, *Galas*, the Counts of *Mansfeld* and *Piccolomini*, and *Jean de Werth*, being assembled at *Aschaffenburg*, did not question but they shou'd be in a capacity to break their way into *Lorrain*, and from thence into *France*, to hinder the King from succouring the Protestant League in *Germany*.

The *French* Generals open'd the Campaign by attacking *Spire*, which had received an Imperial Garrison. They took it by Capitulation on the 21st of *March*, and dismantled it, in spite of *Galas*, who was on the other side the *Rhine*. Their Joy for the Taking of this place was not of long continuance, for they received Advice that *Treves* had been surprized on the 26th of the same Month, and that the Archbishop, who inclined too much to the *French* Interest, was made a Prisoner in his own Palace. *Bussy-lamet* the Son commanded there in the Absence of his Father, who was gone to *Coblentz* a little before: and the Count d'*Emden*, Governour of *Luxemburg*, surprized the place by the Stratagem of a Native of the Diocese of *Liege*, whose Name was *Cersfontaine*, who in the night-time came up to the Walls with Barks full of Soldiers, which he pretended were laden with Salt. At last he blew up one of the Gates with a Petard, thro' which he enter'd with 2000 Foot, and attacked the *French* that were got together in the Market-place. Soon after another Gate was broke open after the same manner, and gave the Count d'*Emden* an opportunity to enter into the City with 500 Horse. *Bussy-lamet* was taken Prisoner with 4 or 500 men, and the Archbishop, after he had seen his own Palace rifled, was carried to *Luxemburg*, and from thence to the Castle of *Antwerp*.

As soon as this News arriv'd at the Court of *France*, they express'd a mighty Indignation against the *Spaniards*, as if it had not been as lawful for them to assist the Emperour, as it was for the *French* to support the *Swedes*. They talked of carrying the War into the Low-Countries,



1 6 3 5. and Orders were given to send the King's Equipages to *Compiègne*, that so he might take the Road directly to *S. Quintin*. But as an open Rupture with *Spain* required them to march with more circumspection, 'twas thought fit to retard the King's Journey eight days longer, and to call a grand Council of War, where all the Princes of the Blood, and several other Lords, were to assist. I will relate the Consequences of this Affair, after I have finished the Narration of what happen'd in *Germany* this Campaign, between the *French* and the *Imperialists*.

\* *Siri Mem.*

Rec. T. 8. P.

227.

The terrible Cold which the \* *French* had suffer'd in the *Bergstraat*, and in the Expedition of *Spire* which was somewhat of the earliest, occasion'd great sickness in the Army. Out of 28 Royal Regiments that had pass'd the *Rhine*, there were scarce left 10000 men that were in a condition to bear the Fatigues of a War, when they re-pass'd that River. The Army of the Duke of *Weimar* was not in much better circumstances; so that it was not safe to rely either upon one or the other. In the mean time the Cardinal thought fit to draw off some of the *German* Regiments to join them with the Army of *Champagne*, which was to act in *Flanders*; and on the side of *Germany* he resolv'd to be upon the Defensive, only to hinder the *Imperialists* from entering *Lorraine*. Orders were sent to *Feuquieres* to raise 12000 *Germans* to reinforce the Army of the Duke of *Weimar*, and to command them under him. This Army resolv'd to stay upon the *Rhine*, while the *Mareschal de la Force* commanded a Body of 15000 men, upon the Frontiers of *Lorraine*. It was hop'd that the *Swedes*, and the Confederate Princes of the Houses of *Lunenburg* and *Hesse*, wou'd employ one part of the *Imperial* Forces on the other side the *Rhine*, and that by this means the Duke of *Weimar* and the *Mareschal de la Force* would be able to oppose the rest.

\* *Siri, ibid.*

P. 235.

*Oxenstiern* the \* *Chancellour* of *Sweden* came to *Paris* in *April*, to renew the former Treaties, and see how they must act in *Germany* against the common Enemy. *Bourbillier* and he sign'd a new Treaty on the 28th of *October*, by which the former were confirm'd, and the two Crowns oblig'd themselves reciprocally to assist their Allies, and not to enter into a Peace or Truce one with-

out

out another. He was received with uncommon honours 1635.  
 at *Paris*; for they not only Treated him, as they do Ambassadours of Crown'd Heads, but bore all his Expence:  
 Nay, the Cardinal made him some Visits, an Honour which he vouchsafed to very few persons, but he wou'd not give him the Right-hand at his Palace, nor feign himself sick, as he sometimes did in favour of the Ambassadours of *England*, who wou'd by no means allow the Prerogatives that those of the Purple assume. *Oxenstiern* did not regard these Formalities, in consideration, as he said, of the extraordinary Merits of the Minister with whom he had to do. He parted from *Paris* on the 3d of *May* for *Holland*, from whence he was to go into the *Lower Saxony* to oblige the House of *Lunenbourg* to joyn their Troops with those of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Banier*, to beat *Galas* out of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and oblige *Piccolomini* to retire from the *Main*.

The *Swedes* \* not being able to prevail with the Princess their Allies to joyn with them in this Design, *Galas* pass'd the *Rhine*, took *Wormes*, and having joyn'd *Manfeld*, they made together an Army of 12000 Horse, and 15000 Foot. The Duke of *Lorraine* and *Jean de Werth* approached likewise on the same side, so that now it was to be feared that they wou'd enter into *France* with an Army of 25000 Horse, and as many Foot, since there were not Forces sufficient to oppose their March: The Armies of *Germany* were not in a condition to make Head against them, and the rest were employ'd either in the *Low-Countries* or in *Italy*. The Levies that had been rais'd to enlarge and compleat the Troops commanded by the *Mareschal de la Force*, and *Feuquieres*, were in a manner come to nothing, partly by Desertions, and partly by the Treachery of the Colonels and Captains, who received Pay for compleat Companies, although they had not half the effective Soldiers they were obliged to have.

Those that knew the present state of Affairs, were surprized to behold a flourishing Kingdom, full of Men and Money, which paid above a hundred and fifty thousand Men, out of a Design to humble the House of *Austria*, shou'd have no more than six thousand Horse and twenty thousand Foot to oppose an Army of fifty thousand Men; so that it might justly fear to see the Imperial Colours in

a short

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. Toim. 2.*  
 P. 330.

1635. a short time all about *Paris*. This sufficiently discovered how slightly the Cardinal had engag'd himself in a War, which was not to be managed like a Court-Intrigue, by Tricks, and putting Chimera's into the King's Head.

But the Imperialists, instead of speedily executing the Design which had been propos'd to enter into *Lorraine*, and from thence into *Champagne*, lost a great deal of time unprofitably. *Galas* retired to *Sarbruck* till the rest came up to him, where he in a manner block'd up *Metz*, *Creutznack*, and other Places belonging to the *Swedes*; but this was nothing in comparison of what the Imperial Army might have done, if they had gone immediately into *Champagne*. In the mean time the Duke of *Weimar* march'd to cover *Lorraine*, and hinder'd *Galas* from making any Attempts on that side: nay, he offer'd to force this General to re-pass the *Rhine*, if they would speedily send him 3000 Horse and 15000 Foot.

The Cardinal, who was afraid that the Imperialists wou'd take those Advantages which their Numbers as well as the Opportunity it self had put into their hands, told his trusty Confident Father *Joseph*, 'That he saw 'the Kingdom was in a very dangerous condition, and 'that he knew not what Remedies to apply to it; that 'the Levies that had been rais'd, dwindled to nothing in 'a short time; and, that there was no Fidelity or Truth 'in the Officers: That there were not Forces enough 'to oppose the Imperial Armies if they joyn'd to make 'their way into *France*; and that the 12000 *Switzers*, 'and the same number of *French* which he gave Orders 'to be rais'd, could not be got ready before the Month 'of *September*: That if the Duke of *Weimar* had not 'stop'd the Progress of *Galas*, *Lorraine* had been already 'lost, with the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*. This Capuchin, whom a little matter could not astonish, told the Cardinal, that he must take Courage, and particularly apply himself to beat *Galas* back: That he must place another General over the Army in *Germany*, re-inforce it as well as he cou'd, and hinder the Cheats of the Officers: That lastly, he must keep up and cultivate the Alliance with the *Switzers*, that so he might be furnish'd with Men from thence, and that this wou'd be so much the easier done, because their Pensions were not paid them by the *Spaniards*. In

In pursuance of this Advice the Cardinal \* paid *Pomiera*, the Duke of *Weimar*'s Agent at *Paris*, three hundred thousand *Livres* for the payment of his Army, and sixty five thousand for himself, the better to encourage him to fight *Galas*; however, he wou'd not make any Treaty for the future. The *Mareschal de la Force*, and the Duke of *Angoulême*, had Orders to have an eye upon the Frontiers of *Lorraine*, and upon Duke *Charles*, to hinder him from invading it, as 'twas believed he had a Design. Orders were likewise dispatched to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who desired to command an Army, and whose Inclinations were by no means suitable to his Dignity, to go and place himself at the Head of a small Body of Men, whom he was to joyn with the Forces of the Duke of *Weimar*. *Galas* had besieged *Kaiserlauter*, and block-ed up *Mentz*, and the Duke was not strong enough to raise the Siege, or break the Blockade. He was so much the more concerned to preserve that place, because he had laid up there the most considerable part of the Booty which he had got since the Entrance of *Gustavus* into *Germany*. For this reason he had put some of his best Troops into the Town; and among the rest, the Yellow Regiment of the late King of *Sweden*. This Place made a very brave Resistance; and this Regiment refusing to capitulate, sustain'd several Assaults, and perished upon the Breach. But at last the Town was taken by force, and all of them put to the Sword. It cost the Imperialists very dear; but the Duke of *Weimar* sustained an irreparable Loss by it.

The Cardinal *de la Valette* joyn'd the Duke of *Weimar* after this. This latter, although he was a *Lutheran*, gave him the Right-hand, because he rather considered the great credit he was in with the Minister of *Lewis XIII.* than his Dignity of Cardinal. All the World wonder'd that the King, who did not want Generals, and kept a *Mareschal* in Prison, wou'd have recourse to an Archbishop, to command one of his Armies, at so dangerous a Juncture; for in short, whatever Inclinations the Cardinal *de la Valette* had to the profession of War, 'tis certain; that he came infinitely short of several Commanders whom his Majesty might have employ'd. But it was one of the Minister's Maxims, To employ Bishops and Abbots

1635.

\* The 26th of July.

The 27th of July.



1 6 3 5. Abbots in things that had no relation to their Function, whether he had a greater esteem for Ecclesiasticks than he had for the Laity, or whether he thought they wou'd serve him with more punctuality.

In the mean time *Galas* had besieged *Deux ponts*, which place he had brought to surrender the next day, when he received Advice, that the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Duke of *Weimar*, were marching towards him to relieve it. Upon this News he drew off; but notwithstanding all the haste the *French* made, with the Duke of *Weimar*, they cou'd not overtake him so as to give him Battel. However, they advanced by the side of *Mentz*, and obliged 14000 Imperialists to raise the Siege of that City, which the Enemy had reduced to such Extremities that they must have been forced to surrender in four or five days for want of Provisions.

\* The 5th of August.

A few days after, *Galas* having re-united all the Imperial Forces that were about the *Rhine* into one Body, he formed an Army of them consisting of 30000 Men; and finding himself superiour in numbers to the Cardinal and the Duke, obliged them to retire in their turn. But it was impossible for them to subsist longer in the place where they were, by reason that *Francford* had declared for the Emperour, and Sickneses having got into the Army, had lessen'd it considerably. Now the difficulty was, how to make a safe Retreat, before an Army much stronger than their own: They made an account to march straight to *Sarbruck*, and to *St. Auaud*, where there was plenty of Provisions; but *Galas* having cut off that way from them, they must resolve to take that of the Mountains, although un-peopled and without Refreshments, and endeavour to reach *Vaudervange*, where there was a *French* Garrison. They took this Road, labouring under all these Inconveniences, without daring to make a Halt at any place, either by reason of the great want of Victuals, or out of fear of having *Galas* upon their hands, this General following them very closely. At last they arrived, on the 26th of September, at *Vaudervange*, without any other loss than that of their Artillery, which the bad Weather, and the swiftness of their March, obliged them to leave behind. The same day they passed the *Save*, and this Precaution was not unserviceable to them;



them; for *Galas* appeared on the other side, four hours after. He likewise passed it on the 28th, and found that the *French* had abandoned their Baggage, to retire under the Cannon of *Metz*. He advanc'd within a League and half of this City; but finding the Enemy secure, he conducted his Army back again into the Country of *Luxemburg*, within some Leagues of that place. He had fifteen thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and six thousand *Croats*. The Cardinal and the Duke of *Weimar* had no more than eight thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse.

In the mean time *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* had attempted, with a Body of Men under his Command, to re-possess himself of his Dominions, where some of his Subjects received him with great joy: But as all the strong Places were in the King's hands, it was impossible for him to make any progress, by reason of the great Opposition he found from the *Mareschal de la Force* and the Duke of *Angoulême*. And thus after some IncurSIONS, and a few Skirmishes, he retired to joyn himself to *Galas*.

The King being informed of the Retreat of his Troops that were followed by the Imperial Army, sent immediately to *Oxenstiern*, to oblige him to make some Diversion, in order to hinder all the Imperial Forces from falling into *Lorraine*. But \* the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and all the other Allies of *Sweden*, had made their Peace with the Emperour, after the Example of the Elector of *Saxony*. *Banier* was abandon'd by the Army; so he was obliged to think of retiring with the Forces that remained, towards *Pomerania*, to treat afterwards with the Emperour, and obtain the easiest Conditions he cou'd get of him. *Oxenstiern* was thinking of nothing but how to return into *Sweden*, when he received the News that *Banier* had got a signal Victory over the *Saxons*, that pursued him. Although this Advantage inspired *Banier* with fresh Courage, and occasion'd him to stay in *Pomerania*, yet he was not in a condition to make any considerable Diversion for the rest of that Campaign. But the Marquis de *St. Chamond* managed Affairs so dexterously, that he hinder'd several Princes of *Germany* from declaring for the Emperour, and others he prevail'd with to espouse the *Swedish* Party afresh. He likewise obliged several Colonels, who had left

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 2.  
P. 347.

1635. left *Banier* for want of Pay, to rejoyne themselves in *Westphalia* under *Kniphausen* Marechal de Camp, by giving them some money in hand, and promising them a farther Supply. General *Arnheim* gave his word not to take any Party, without the consent of the King of *France*. Thus, if *France* did not obtain any great Matters by the *Swedish* Troops this Year, yet she hinder'd them from wholly dispersing, and put this Party in a posture to act with more Vigour the following Campaign.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 114.

\* The 24<sup>th</sup>  
of August.

\* *Siri, ibid.*  
P. 119.

\* *Aubery's*  
*Life of the*  
*Card. Lib. 5.*  
Cap. 16.

The \* King had a Design to come in Person to his Army in *July*, though he said, that if he went thither, he shou'd certainly fall sick: But as the Army in *Germany* was not numerous enough to pass for a Royal Army, and as there was an appearance of Danger to expose His Majesty's Person there, he was dissuaded from it: and indeed the Event shew'd that it was not without good reason. However, when he heard of the Retreat of his Army, he cou'd not be hinder'd from † going to *S. Disier*, upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, although the Cardinal tarried at *Paris*, expecting that he would not travel far. But instead of stopping at *S. Disier*, he enter'd into *Lorraine*, and with a few Troops gathered up and down in *Champagne*, of whom the Count de *Soissons* had been declared General, he went to besiege *S. Mibel* a small place, of no Defence, which some *Lorraine* Soldiers had Taken and Defended four days against him; after which they were constrained to surrender at discretion. It was observ'd, ‡ that after the Taking of this Place, the King having held a Council of War, would not suffer the Count de *Soissons* to assist at it: though no one knew the true Reason of it, it was not doubted but that some Advice from the Cardinal occasion'd it. In the mean time the Cardinal was extreamly \* incommoded with the Hemorrhoids; but after the Application of Causticks, he was soon freed from his pain.

During his Majesty's Expedition, the Army of *Germany* arriv'd at *Metz*, and to re-inforce it, Orders were sent to the Marechal de la Force, and to the Duke of *Angoulême*, to send their Troops to the Cardinal de la *Valette*. They encreas'd it still from all Parts with all the Troops they cou'd get together; so that now the Cardinal found himself stronger than *Galas*, although the Duke

Duke of *Lorraine* had joyned him. Thus the Duke of *Weimar* and the Cardinal were ordered to bring him to a Battle if possible, or to cut off his Provisions, but above all to hinder him from making any Excursions in *Champagne*. But this General being advantageously incamped and intrench'd, so that there was no way to force him, was not willing to run any hazard. He hop'd to be soon joyn'd by a Body which the Duke of *Lorraine* commanded, but more that the Cardinal de la *Valette's* Army would lessen by frequent desertions, so soon as the cold Rains of the *Autumn* began to fall.

This King's Person being unnecessary in these Places, and indeed not out of imminent dangers, since the Enemy was not above fifteen Leagues off, he was advised to return home, sooner than the Cardinal wou'd have had him there. \* 'Tis reported that the Count de *Carmail*, *Maréchal de Camp*, in the Army of Cardinal de la *Valette*, told the King, who asked him his Advice what was best for him to do in this Conjunction, That his Majesty expos'd himself too much, that he might be taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Lorraine*, if he did not speedily return to *St. Disier*, and that *Jean de Werth*, who had lately come to observe his Quarters, marched with Six Thousand Horse, to put this Enterprize in Execution. For this good Council, the Count de *Carmail* was made a Prisoner at the King's Return, and sent to the *Bastile*. Upon this and other Informations, the King resolv'd to go back into *France*; but to cover his Retreat with some specious pretence, he gave out that he wou'd go to *Langres*, to cut off the Duke of *Lorraine's* Provisions, that came to him from the *Franche-Comte*. But as soon as he was in *Champagne*, he took the Road directly to *St. Germain*, where he arrived on the 22d of *October*. The Cardinal, who was at *Ruel*, went to meet him as far as *Nully*, which is within a League of that Place, and was extremely well receiv'd. The King stopt at *Ruel* to hold a Council there, and the Cardinal went the next day to *St. Germain*, where he had another long Conference with him. At his Return to *Ruel*, he caus'd the Count de *Carmail* to be apprehended there by his Guards, and sent him to the *Bastile*, under a pretence of not having perform'd his Duty so well

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 339. See  
also the St.  
Mother's Letter to the  
Pope, dated  
the 7th. of  
December in  
Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 4.  
c. 54.

1635. as he ought. The same Day, the Cardinal told the Count de Soissons, that his Majesty was very much displeased with him, and that it would be his best way to absent himself from the Court for some time; which the Count immediately did, and retired to a Country House near Fontainbleau. They took away from him at the same time his Title of General, which had been conferr'd upon him, and this the Cardinal did by way of revenge upon the Count, because he had dexterously excused himself from marrying his Niece; but soon after, the Cardinal, to show what an absolute ascendant he had over the King, gets the Count to be recalled, and procures him the Command of the Army of Champagne.

Some days after the King's Return, the Duke of Weimar's† Agent at Paris, made a new Treaty for his Master, and for the rest whose Troops he commanded. By this Treaty, the King oblig'd himself not to make any Treaty without the Allies of Germany; and the Duke promised the same thing, in Relation to the King. Weimar likewise engaged to have Twelve Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse in Germany, with Artillery necessary, upon Condition that the King wou'd cause to be paid to him Four Millions of Livres a Year; that if in fighting, he happen'd to lose this Army, the King shou'd raise him another, and that if he was taken Prisoner, he shou'd take the same Care of him, as of one of his own Generals. By a secret Article, the King promised him the Title of Landgrave of Alsatia, and Fifty Thousand Crowns Pension for ever.

† The 27th of  
October. Siri  
Mem. Rec.  
T. 8. p. 340.

In the mean time all the Troops being got together, under the Command of the Cardinal de la Valette, which formed together an Army of Forty Thousand Men, advanced towards Vic, to oblige Galas and the Duke of Lorraine, that were intrench'd at Dieuse, to abandon that Post, or cut off their Provisions and Forage, on the side of the Moselle. These two Generals already felt an extreme scarcity of Hay and Oats, as well as Victuals, but their Army being accustomed to suffer, did not desperse for that. On the Contrary, the Army of France that wanted nothing, was sensibly lessen'd by desertions, and that only for the cold Weather. But this excessive scarcity causing Distempers in the Imperial Army, Galas

was



was obliged to go out of his Camp with his Horse, and over-run *Alsatia* and the Country of *Triers*, no one being able to hinder him, from whence he sent store of Victuals to the Camp, after which his Troops that had stay'd there all this while to make Head against the *French*, retired in good Order into *Alsatia*, without leaving any thing behind them but their Sick. The *French* did not pursue them, whether because they were not soon enough aware of their Retreat, or because they contented themselves with having obliged them to quit *Lorraine*. They drew off in their Turn on this side the *Moselle*, while the Duke of *Lorraine* took his Winter Quarters in the *Franche-Comte*, and *Galas* repass'd the *Rhine*, after he had plunder'd *Alsatia*.

To come now to the Affairs of *Flanders*, ever since the beginning of the Year the Cardinal was sensible, that the Maxim which he had observ'd till then, of not breaking openly with *Spain*, wou'd be for the future disadvantageous to *France*, since she was not at a much less expence to support her Allies, than if she had been in an open War, and yet made no advances against the *Spaniards*. On the Contrary, she had given them an Opportunity by this means to joyn their Forces with those of the Emperour in 1634, which made them gain the Battle of *Norlingue*, and had like to have entirely ruin'd the affairs of the *Suedes* in *Germany*; several Cities and Princes that furnished the *Suedes* with considerable Supplies, had thought of nothing ever since, but of making their Peace with the Emperour, least they should be in a short time irreparably overthrown, if they continued to oppose him with so much disadvantage. The States General of the United Provinces, weary of the War with *Spain*, which had lasted so many years, and fearing to be abandon'd by *France*, that wou'd never be brought to declare it self, express'd a great inclination to reassume the Negotiation of a Truce, which had been broken off, out of an Apprehension, that the Emperour after he had given Peace to *Germany*, wou'd do the *Spaniards* the same kindness they had done him, that is to say, come with a formidable Army into the Low-Countries, to help them to re-conquer the Seven Provinces which had with-drawn themselves from their Obedi-



1 6 3 5. ence. If it so happen'd that a Peace was concluded in Germany, and a Truce in the Low-Countries, or that the United Provinces were subdu'd, then *France*, which was not in an open Rupture, either with the Emperour or the King of *Spain*, might see these Treaties concluded, without being comprehended in them, because the House of *Austria* would be in so advantageous a posture at that time, what she thought fit to command, must not be disputed; and Matters being so, *France*, which had so long assisted the Enemies of the House of *Austria*, had no reason to doubt that all her Forces wou'd pour down upon her. The Ministers of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain* said aloud in all Places, that the *French* vainly flattered themselves, that they should continue in the possession of what they had taken since the Treaties of *Querasque* and *Ratisbone*, and that they shou'd be forced at last to surrender all.

For these Reasons, the Cardinal thought it the best way to prevent the House of *Austria*, in declaring openly against *Spain*, to hinder her from assisting the Emperour, and to give new Life and Vigour to the *Hollanders* and *Swedes*. To this end, he took great pains to form a League against *Spain*, both in *Flanders* and *Italy*, in order to give her so much Business at home, that she shou'd not have leisure to look abroad and interpose in the Affairs of *Germany*.

\* *Siri. Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 24.

\* To begin with the League Offensive and Defensive, which the King concluded with the States General, it was Signed at *Paris* the 8th of *February*. They obliged themselves to enter upon the *Spanish* Provinces on two Sides, with Twenty Five Thousand Foot, and Five Thousand Horse each, next *May*. However the *French* had inserted this Condition into the Treaty, *If the Spaniards don't agree to reasonable Terms of Accommodation*; but it was not doubted but what they christened by the Name of *reasonable* in *France*, wou'd pass for *very unreasonable* in *Spain*, so that this Condition was impertinent enough. The Conquests were to be parted between them, so that the King was to have the Country of *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*; and the Estates, the Marquisate of the sacred Empire, where *Antwerp* is, the Lordship of *Malines*, the Dutchy  
of

of *Brabant, Huſt*, and the Country of *Dam*. To perſwade the Inhabitants of the Low Countries to an inſurrection, it was reſolv'd to invite them to joyn with the Confederates in turning out the *Spaniards*, with a promiſe to reſtore them to their Liberty, which being performed within the three firſt Months, the *Spaniſh* Provinces were to remain united in one Body as a free State, with all the Rights of Sovereignty. It was agreed that they ſhou'd act conjointly, and that *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, ſhou'd command the two Armies United, in quality of Generaliſſimo, and ſhou'd give the Word, unleſs the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Cardinal ſhould be there in Perſon. So the King ſent Orders to the Marſchal de *Chatillon* and de *Breſt*, who had the command of the Army that was deſigned for the Low-Countries, to meet at *Meſieres* the 28th of *April*, to go and joyn the *Dutch* Army near *Maſtricht*, the 12th of *May*. *Charnace* had long Conferences with the Prince of *Orange*, upon what meaſures they were to take. The *French* were deſirous to find out the Enemy and fight him, fearing to loſe too much time in beſieging of places; and the *Hollanders* choſe rather to undertake the Siege of ſome Town, without hazarding a Battel. At this time the *Dutch* underſtood the manner of beſieging of Places better than the *French*, and the *French* were fitter to give Battle. After a long debate, they only came to this Concluſion, to enter the Low-Countries to *Luxemburg*, and for the reſt to leave it to the diſcretion of the Generals, to regulate what was fit to be undertaken ſo ſoon as the Armies were joyn'd.

This Treaty was to be kept ſecret till the very time of execution, when *France* ſhou'd declare War againſt *Spain*, upon occaſion of the ſeveral infractions which the *Spaniards* had made of the peace of *Vervins*, although the *French* had done no leſs on their Side. In the Interim, the *Spaniards* happen'd to ſurpriſe *Triers*, and carried away the Arch-biſhop Priſoner, as has been already obſerved. The Cardinal thought he cou'd never find a more plauſible Pretence to declare War againſt the *Spaniards*, than the forcible detaining of a Prince, who had put himſelf under the protection of *France*. He therefore ordered *d'Annonot* \*, the Reſident at *Bruffels*,

\* The 21ſt of  
April. *Siri*  
Mem. Rec.  
T. 8. p. 230.

1635. to demand the liberty of the Elector of *Triers* of the Cardinal-Infanta, who was come thither the last year from *Germany*, and of the Marquiss *d'Aylone*. They both answered they could do nothing in this Matter, till they knew what was the Emperour's Pleasure about it. They took this answer in *France* for a down right Shift, because they had had time enough to send to the Court of *Vienna*, and receive an Answer, since the taking of the Elector of *Triers*; upon this, the King sent a Herald of Arms to *Brussels*, to declare War against the Crown of *Spain*, upon this Refusal.

The Prince of *Orange* delay'd to march to the *Randevouz*, till he received advice that the *French* Army was entred upon the Territories of *Spain*; fearing least an opposite Order should stop them on the Frontiers of *France*. This retarded the motion of the *French* Army for some days, which expected the same thing of the Prince of *Orange*; but at last it marched, and arrived the 16th of *May* at *Rochefort*. As it advanced towards *Maastricht*, divided into two Brigades, one of them commanded by the Mareschal de *Chatillon*, and the other by *Brezé*, they were informed that Prince *Thomas*, who had about Twelve Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, was intrench'd at *Avein*, designing to dispute the Pass with them, or charge them in the Rear. The Armies were so near, when this News came, and the ways through which they must pass to avoid a Battle, were so disadvantageous, that the *French* General immediately resolv'd to attack the *Spanish* Army. This they perform'd so † successfully, that without sustaining any great loss, they kill'd them Fifteen Hundred Men, took Three Thousand Prisoners, and put the rest to Flight. Prince *Thomas* left behind him all his Baggage and Artillery, and retired to *Namur*, with the Cavalry which had abandon'd the Foot.

The Prince of *Orange* did not joyn the *French* Forces till towards the end of *May*, which began to give occasion of complaint to the *French*, who pretended that if he had been at *Maastricht* on the day appointed, they might have drawn great Advantages from their Victory, and that this Delay had given time to Prince *Thomas* to pick up the straggling Reminders of his Army. There was like-

† The 20th of May. See *Siri. ibid.* p. 318. and the *Memoirs of* p. 127.

likewise some difficulty about the Command: The Marechal de Charillon, although a Relation of the Prince of Orange, wou'd not receive his Orders from him, but only communicate to him his Designs, and act in concert with him. But the Marechal de Brezé oppos'd the Intentions of his Collegue, as well as the Marquis de la Meilleraye; and so the Command was yielded, according to the Treaty concluded at Paris, to Frederick Henry.

At this time, the King \* publish'd his Declaration of War, with a Manifesto, wherein he recounts at length the several Infractions which the Spaniards had made of the Treaty of Vervins. The Spaniards were not wanting on their side to put out a Declaration and Manifesto quite contrary, in which they\* defended their Conduct, and made the like Reproaches to France. They said, in this Writing, that it was not so much the King of France that had declared War against them, as Cardinal Richieu, because every thing was done at the instigation of that Minister.

The two Armies being joyned, went to besiege Tirlemont, which they attacked, each on their respective side. The Governour, Don Francisco de Burgos, defended himself so ill, that the Soldiers † took the Town with their Swords in their hands, and plunder'd it. At last, without any Order from the Generals, the Soldiers set it on fire, and so vast quantities of Provisions, which wou'd have been very serviceable to the French Army, were by this means consumed. Several Disorders were committed here, which the Hollanders imputed to the French, and the French threw back again upon the Hollanders. Some persons were of opinion, that Frederick Henry was not sorry to render the French odious by this, and to destroy the Provisions for which they had occasion.

Having at last form'd a Resolution to attack Louvain, they took Dieft and Arschot in their way, and marched directly towards Brussels, as if their Design had been upon that City, purposely to draw the Cardinal Infanta thither, who was at Louvain with his Army. So the Confederates laid Siege to this Place on the 26th of June. They sat down ten days before it, when Provisions growing very scarce, they thought of leaving it, to be more conveniently supplied with Victuals in some other place.

1635.

Besides they received Advice that *Piccolomini*, who was coming to the relief of the Cardinal *Infanta*, with five or six thousand Horse, was already arrived at *Namur*, which made them fear that he wou'd stop their Provisions, with which they were only furnished from *Liege*. Thus after they had received their Convoy, they raised the Siege on the 4th of *July*, and the *French* went to refresh themselves about *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*, while the Army of the States took the way of *Boisleduc*. This Scarcity had considerably lessen'd the *French* Army, besides that the Generals not keeping a good Understanding between one another, it was impossible for their Enterprises to be well regulated. The *Mareschal de Brezé*, naturally warm and haughty upon the score of his Brother-in-law's great favour, proceeded so far as to give the *Mareschal de Chatillon* ill Language, but the Prince of *Orange* reconciled them; and *Chatillon* being afraid of displeasing the Minister, disssembled his Anger more than he wou'd have done, upon another occasion.

The *French* accused the Prince of *Orange* to have been the Cause of all this Mischief, by his Slowness and want of Resolution, which had made them lose an opportunity of acting with Success, and mightily impaired the Army. The *Dutch* on the other hand reproached the *French* Generals with disagreeing among themselves, and observing no order in their Troops. Abundance of people imagined that *Frederick-Henry*, who was never suspected to want Resolution in his Life, feared that the *French* made too great a progress in the *Low-Countries*, and that the States thought it more advisable to have the *Spaniards* for their Neighbours than the *French*. And in truth it was much better for them, that the *Spaniards* shou'd keep what they had in the *Low-Countries*, because the great distance of their different Dominions wou'd hinder them from acting with the same Vigour against the *United Provinces*, as the *French*, if they became their Neighbours, and afterwards their Enemies, might employ against them. 'Tis likewise said, that the *Dutch* Army never wanted Provisions all the while, and that the Prince of *Orange*, if he had been so pleased, might have easily furnished the *French*; but that having no other Design than merely to engage *France* in a War with



with *Spain*, he did not care what Success they found in the course of it; and that for this reason he always suffer'd their Army to perish.

However it was, there happen'd to him, much about the same time, an Accident of a much more dangerous consequence, and that was the Surprizal of the Fort of *Schenk*, which is one of the Keys of the *United Provinces*. It was surpriz'd by Colonel *Eenholt*, in the night, on the 27th or 28th of *July*: for it seems no care was taken to make necessary Reparation there, and then the Garrison was very inconsiderable; so that after they had vigorously opposed two Assaults of the *Spaniards*, they were cut off at the third. The Prince of *Orange* wou'd have fain got thither before the Enemy had thrown any more Men into the place, and begg'd the French Mareschals to assist him; but the *Spaniards* made such haste to supply it with Men and Provisions, that he arrived too late, and he judg'd it was impossible to reduce it by force. So he undertook to make himself Master of the Fort by Famine, and block'd it up almost a whole Year before it surrender'd. Several Rencontres happen'd between the two Armies near this Fort; but there was no decisive Action. Afterwards the Cardinal-Infanta went to fortifie *Genap*, by the means of which place he greatly incommoded the Garrisons of *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, and *Maestricht*.

All the World was surprized, that an Army of forty thousand Men, as was that of the Prince of *Orange* and the Mareschals of *France*, durst not attack that of the Cardinal-Infanta, which had but half the number, and was still disheartned by the Defeat of *Avein*. \* Some ascribe it to Jealousie of State, but others pretend that the Prince of *Orange*, who was skilful at forning a Siege, was afraid to run the risque of a Battel. Nay some people add, That if he had only lodged himself upon the Banks of the *Rhine* between *Cleves* and the Fort of *Schenk*, he might have reduced it in ten days: but he was so much afraid that the *Spaniards* wou'd oblige him to fight them, that he came into the *Betawe* with his Army to cover them from any such Attempt. 'Tis true indeed, he hinder'd the *Spaniards* at the same time from piercing too far into the Territories of the States, which wou'd have caused a prodigious Disorder.

\* *Siri Mem*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 329.

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Cardinal Richlieu was now sensible that the Design of entering the *Low-Countries* by the way of *Luxemburg*, which was the opinion of the two *Mareschals*, was ill grounded, by reason of the great distance of the Frontiers of *France*, and that it had been much better to attack *Dunkirk*, as the Prince of *Orange* had advised. But now it was too late to remedy this fault. The King, who was made at first to expect Miracles from this great Enterprize, was mightily concerned that it succeeded so ill, although care was taken to conceal a great part of their Losses from him. It so fell out, that a Gentleman whom the Prince of *Orange* sent to him, having informed him of the particulars, he fell into an excessive passion against *Bouthillier*, called him a Lye, and forbid him to open any Packet but in his presence. This sate so hard upon him, that his Minister fell sick upon it, and the Cardinal himself appear'd very pensive about it. At last they were ordered to save the rest of the Army as well as they cou'd, but especially the Horse. *Charnacé* who came from the Army to *Paris*, was ordered to return into *Holland*, to endeavour to conduct it from thence.

While the Cardinal thus treated with the States-General about the manner of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Low-Countries*, the President *de Bellicore*, Ambassadour Extraordinary to the Princes of *Italy*, formed a League with some of them to fall on the *Milanese*, and to defend the Liberty of *Italy* against the *Spaniards*. The Dukes of *Savoy*, of *Mantua*, and *Parma*, engaged themselves in this League for three years; but the other Princes of *Italy* wou'd not be concerned in it. Besides the Troops which the King kept on foot in the *Valtelline*, as we shall see in the series of the History \*, he obliged himself to send twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand five hundred Horse against the *Spaniards*. The Duke of *Savoy* promised six thousand Foot, and two thousand two hundred Horse: the Duke of *Mantua* three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse: and the Duke of *Parma* four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Every one was to maintain his own Troops till the End of the War; and in case the *Spaniards* augmented the number of their Forces, the Confederates were to raise a fourth part more than they had before. It was concluded, that the Duke  
of

\* See the  
Treaty  
in Suri  
Mem. Rec.  
T. 8. P. 252.  
It was signed  
the 11th of  
July.

of *Savoy* shou'd command the Army, and in his Absence the General of the French Forces; which Station was to be possessed by the *Mareschal de Crequi*. They had likewise agreed about the Division of the *Milaneze*, if it shou'd be conquered.

After this League was signed, the *Mareschal* entred into the Territories of *Spain* on the 29th of *August*, with the French Troops; and having taken some inconsiderable Places, he went to invest *Valence*, upon the *Po*, without any Orders from the King, or the Duke of *Savoy*. *Edward Duke of Parma* took the Field the next day, assisted by an experienc'd French Captain, whose name was *de la Marne*, whom *Mareschal de Crequi* had sent to direct him. He joyned him soon after, after he had routed a small Body of *Spaniards*, that pretended to oppose his March. The Duke of *Savoy* made a longer stay before he came to the *Rendezvouz*; and as the Siege of *Valence* was not as yet perfectly formed, the *Spaniards* had an opportunity to throw four thousand Men into the Town, commanded by the *Marquiss de Celada*, to reinforce the Garrison. *Francis del Cardine* was Governour of this place, assisted by Captain *Spadini*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct.

After this, the Duke of *Savoy* sent his Troops to the Camp, and the *Mareschal* began to carry on the Siege. He imagined that he shou'd be able to carry the Place in a few days, although the Besieged sallied out continually, and added some new Works to the ancient Fortifications. In the mean time the Duke of *Parma's* Men, who had never been in any War before, daily diminished; and as for the Duke of *Savoy*, he made some difficulty of going in Person to this Siege, as being undertaken against his Advice, and begun by another. The *Mareschal de Thoiras*, out of Envy to *Crequi*, dissuaded him from going thither; but at last, at the Instances of *Emery*, Ambassador of *France* at *Turin*, he arrived at the Camp on the 13th of *October*; and after he had visited the Works, he was of opinion that the Siege wou'd come to nothing; and in truth this unhappy Misunderstanding between them ruined all their Designs.

The *Mareschal* having received Advice that the Spanish Army, commanded by *Don Carlo Colonna*, was on  
their

1635.

Siri, Hist.

P. 292.

1635. their March to endeavour to raise the Siege, sent to desire the Duke to order his Men to pass the *Po*, that so they might fight the Enemy before they were intrenched at *Frescarolo*. But the Troops of the Duke passed so slowly, that they were forced to send them back the next day. It was still believed, that it would be their best way to go and attack the *Spaniards*; so the Army marched forward, the Marechal being in the Vanguard, the Duke of *Savoy* in the Body of the Battel, and the Duke of *Parma* in the Rear. The Enemy had taken no care to entrench themselves, thinking that the French durst not stir out of their Lines to meet an Army stronger than their own, and they began already to retire when they were attacked. *Cregui* had the Right, and the Duke of *Savoy* commanded on the Left: The Attack began on the Duke's side with a great deal of Vigour, although they had not sent to observe the ground where the Enemy lay. They were beaten back into the Vineyards, where their Infantry was posted, and they disputed the ground very weakly, when *Cregui*, upon a false Information, sent word to the Duke of *Savoy*, that the *Spaniards* were entrenched on the other side, and superiour to them in number, upon which he did not think it safe to push it on any farther. This occasioned *Victor-Amadeo*, who had already dislodged the Spanish Infantry out of the Vineyards, to sound a Retreat, and lose a fair opportunity of beating the Enemy. It is reported, that *Cregui* suspected that the Duke of *Savoy* only designed to engage him, to suffer him afterwards to be cut in pieces, and that for this reason he did not attack them. He retired likewise at the same time, and the *Spaniards*, who looked upon themselves as good as beaten, were surprized to see the Enemy abandon, of their own accord, an Enterprize which had begun so well. This News they learn'd of the Prisoners, but then it was too late; for after this the *Spaniards* entrenched themselves, and were always upon their Guard. Nor was this all; for they threw fresh Succours into the City through a place where the Lines of Circumvallation were not compleated, and where the *Savoyards* did not make any manner of resistance. Another Supply enter'd the Town by the *Po*, after which the Rains that usually fall in the Autumn, incom-

incommoded the Besiegers. The Army which was otherwise exceedingly weakened, by Weaknesses and Desertions, and the mutual jealousies between the Duke of Savoy, and the Mareschal de Crequi still increasing, they began to talk of raising the Siege, as they did the next day, leaving their Canon, and part of their Baggage behind them. The Generals drew off, complaining one of another, and that the *Milaneze*, which they had wisely shared between themselves before-hand, still continued in the Hands of the *Spaniards*.

The Cardinal who had believed the Conquest of it to be a matter of small Difficulty, was exceedingly concerned at the ill success of this enterprize, and the reciprocal Accusations of the Duke and the Mareschal, which afterwards came to him, gave him but little Consolation. *Crequi* accused the Duke with holding private Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and the Duke made it appear that the Mareschal had undertaken this Siege with too small an Army, and show'd no Conduct in the whole Affair, whatever Bravery he might otherwise have.

He that was the most in Danger, was the Duke of Parma, whose Territories lay exposed to the revenge of the *Spaniards*. He complain'd that he was the only Person that had observed the Treaty, both in regard to the number of his Troops, the time appointed, and to his Zeal in executing with Vigour the projects that had been concerted in the Council of War. To prevent the ruine of the Duke of Parma, and frustrate the other designs of the *Spaniards*, the Troops of France took their Winter Quarters in Italy, and were distributed into several Garrisons.

Thus the Cardinal's great Expectations of conquering the Dutchy of Milan, vanish'd on the sudden, although 'tis certain that he cou'd not have chosen a fitter time for this enterprize, if it had been well executed, for the King had made himself Master of the Passes of the *Val-teline* beforehand, to hinder any Troops from coming to the assistance of the *Spaniards* out of Germany. \* The Duke of Roban, who was in *Alsacia*, had Orders in the Spring to go into *Switzerland*, there to take Six Thousand Men, and four Troops of Horse, and conduct them

into

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 3.*  
p. 216.



1635. into the *Valtelline*, in order to possess himself of that Country, and to defend it with the Forces, which were there already. Being ready to march cross the Country of the Protestant Cantons, he writ to *Du Landé*, who commanded three Regiments of *French* there, and as many of the *Grisons*, to make himself Master of all the Passes of the *Valtelline*, which he very happily executed on the 13th of *April*, so that neither the *Spaniards* nor the little Cantons cou'd possibly hinder it. Soon after, the Duke of *Rohan* arrived there, and began to work upon the Fortifications of those Posts which they had seized. The King of *Spain* being informed of this Invasion, sent to demand assistance of the Emperour, who dispatched Orders to *Galas*, to send a Detachment of his Army into *Tirol*, and from thence into the *Valtelline*, to joyn the Troops of *Spain*, that were to force their Way there, on the side of the *Milaneze*. *Galas* detach'd Eight Thousand Men, under the Baron de *Fernamond*, Serjeant de *Bataille*, who being arrived in *Tirol*, attack'd the Pass of the *Valtelline* on that Side, in the Month of *November*. The Duke of *Rohan* received him with Four Thousand Men, and the *French* Infantry charged the German Horse with that Fury, that they routed them, and put the Army to Flight. *Fernamond* lost Two Thousand Men upon the Spot, besides Prisoners, and retired towards *Tirol*. Soon after he received a Reinforcement of Three Thousand Men, and *Serbellon* entred the *Valtelline* on the side of *Milan*, and advanced towards *Sondrio*. The Duke of *Rohan* thought it adviseable to march against the latter, before the Recruits of *Fernamond* were in a Condition to Act. To this end he marched all Night, from the 13th to the 14th of *November*, and having met *Serbellon* at *Morbegno*, where he had intrench'd himself, he attack'd him, kill'd him Fifteen Hundred Men, and took all his Baggage. The next Day he returned to *Bormio*, lest *Fernamond* shou'd take any advantage of his Absence. By this Action, he hindered a considerable Relief from entering into the *Milaneze*, and falling upon the Allies of *France*. This was the only advantage that turned to any account with *France*, obtain'd against *Spain*, this first Year of the War.

While

While *France* was thus employed by Land in *Italy*; in *Germany*, and the Low-Countries, the *Spaniards* had a design to attack her by Sea, and to make a descent upon *Provence*. But their Fleet being severely shattered by Tempests, they only seized upon the Isles of *St. Margaret*, and *St. Honorat*, where they left a Garrison, and some Men to build two Forts. This Acquisition might serve to incommode the Trade of *Provence*, and to facilitate a descent upon the Continent; but it was a difficult matter to keep these Islands; so that the *Spaniards* were no great gainers by this Exploit.

Chancellor *d'Aligre* being Dead, the King conferr'd this Dignity upon *Pierce Leguier*, as he had formerly promised him, when he gave him the Seals. His Letters were presented to the Parliament, on the 10th of *January*, and registred. The famous *Antoine le Maître* employed his Rhetorick upon this occasion, and made a Panegyric upon the Chancellor and his Ancestors, who had been Members of the Parliament of *Paris*, as he was, before his Majesty made him Keeper of the Seals.

He was received with great Applause, but soon after he served to mortifie that very Body, to which he so lately belonged. \* To support the expences of the War, the King was obliged to create abundance of new Officers, and every Parliament according to the extent of its jurisdiction, was constrained to receive a certain number of Presidents and Counsellors, who bought these places of the King. Upon this, the Parliament of *Paris* had a meeting, and resolv'd to make a Remonstrance to His Majesty upon this augmentation, but instead of hearkening to them, the King banished some of the Councillors to *Angers* and *Ambois*, for talking too boldly. The New Chancellor fell into a great Rage at the Parliament, telling them, That it did not belong to them to censure the King's Conduct, and that their Authority reach'd no higher than to see the Laws duly observed, and to administer justice to the People. The King likewise sent *La Ville aux-Clercs* to forbid the Chambers to assemble, and to tell them that no Notice would be taken of their Remonstrances, till they had received the new Counsellors. They accordingly obey'd, and

\* See *Siri*  
*Mem. Rec. T.*  
8. p. 433.  
*The Life of*  
*the Duke of*  
*Espernon*, p.  
536.

1 6 3 6. and on the 17th of *March*, they obtain'd the return of those that had been banished, upon this Condition, that they would behave themselves more dutiful for the future.

At the same time, the King shut up his Treasury as to all sorts of expences, but those for carrying on the War, so that the Governors of Provinces, and the Officers of the Crown, had been obliged to throw up their Places and Pensions, if there had not been a way found out to get them paid by the Kingdom; which for that reason, they burthen'd with new Impositions. Some of them rather chose to remit them, than to ruine the poor People; but the greatest part of them made use of this Expedient, to satisfy themselves for what was owing to them, which excited great Clamours and Discontents.

The Minister did not much trouble himself what the World thought of these exactions, so long as they brought in Money. He was infinitely more concerned to hear that the *Pope* had a design to call *Mazarine* home, whom he had sent in quality of Nuncio extraordinary, to procure a general Peace, and particularly to obtain the re-establishment of the House of *Lorrain*. *Mazarine* instead of acquitting himself faithfully of this Commission, thought of nothing else, but how to gain the good Graces of the Cardinal Duke; and ever since the Affair of *Cazal*, he had all along appeared so partial for *France*, that the *Spaniards* cou'd not endure him. So by Virtue of their constant importunities, \* the *Pope* was prevail'd upon to recall him from the Court of *France*, and order'd him to discharge the Office of his Vice-Legate at *Avignon*. The Cardinal did all that lay in his Power to obtain of his Holiness, that *Mazarine* might still continue in *France*, or in case he wou'd not suffer him to stay longer there, to send him into *Spain*, to incline that Crown to a Peace as he pretended, but as the *Spaniards* believ'd, to serve as his Spy or Agent in that Court. The King too freely gave his consent, that the *Pope* shou'd nominate him as Collegue to Cardinal *Ginetti*, whom they discoursed of sending to *Colen* to treat of a Peace. \* But the *Pope* wou'd not listen to any of these Proposals, and so *Mazarine* prepared himself to go to *Avignon*, where he designed to make as short a stay as he cou'd.

The

\* At the beginning of the Year 1636. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 175.

\* Id. *Ibid.* p. 186.

The Court of *Rome* gave another Mortification to the Cardinal this Year, for the Cistercian Monks and the *Premonstratenses* having elected him to be their Abbot General, the Pope refused to grant him the Bulls. He was already Abbot of *Cluny*, who is chief of the Order, and consequently Abbot General of the *Benedictines*, so that if he had procur'd this, he had been the Head of the three richest Orders of the Kingdom. It was alledged in his Favour, that these Orders standing in need of a Reformation, for this end they ought to have a person of great Authority set over them, as the Cardinal was. But they were well satisfied at *Rome*, that it was his desire to Rule and not to Reform, that induced him to demand this Benefice. Had he succeeded in this affair, besides a vast Revenue, he had found a great Number of Monks depending wholly upon him, ready to concur with him in all his inclinations, either to obtain Benefices which are in the Collation of the General of these Orders, or to testify their acknowledgments to him after they had once obtained them. It was likewise feared, that he wou'd endeavour to get himself declared Patriarch in *France*, or at least Legate à *Latere* for all his Life, after the example of Cardinal d'*Amboise*, and that having this Prospect, he wou'd use his Interest to exempt the Monks and Secular Priests, from any farther dependence upon the Court, by the means of his Benefices, which the King always disposed of upon his Recommendation.

If the Court of *Rome* did not show him that Complaisance which he desired, it was not to be imagined that he wou'd give them any Satisfaction, as to what they demanded of him. Ever since the last year, it had been resolved upon to send the Mareschal d'*Estrées*, Ambassadour Extraordinary to *Rome*, although the Pope shew'd a mighty unwillingness to receive him, and had testified so much to the Court of *France*. Notwithstanding this opposition, the Mareschal parted towards the \* beginning of this Year, to perswade the Pope to treat the Duke of *Parm* with more Moderation and Gentleness. He had written two Briefs to this Prince, by which he disapproved his uniting with *France*, to attack the *Milanese*, because by that Conduct he exposed

\* The 24th of January.

1636. sed a Fief of the Church to the Resentments of the Spaniards. He had likewise given that Duke to understand, that if the Holy See was obliged to arm, for the Defence of his Dominions, he expected to be satisfied for the Charges of the War. This was the principal reason of the Marechal d'Estree's Embassy, with whom the Pope refused a long while to treat, because he seem'd to have despised his Authority when he seized upon the *Valteline*, as has been observed elsewhere. It was likewise pretended, that by his rough Behaviour he had been the death of *Paul V.* However, the Cardinal, who was not used to start back from what he had once engaged in, did espouse him so vigorously, that the Pope was forced at last to lay down his Pretensions, and treat with him.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
P. 426.

He had Orders \* to recommend Father *Joseph* as from the King to his Holiness, for a Cardinal's Cap. But besides that the person of this Capuchin was not very acceptable at the Court of *Rome*, the Pope made a Difficulty to confer the Purple upon a Capuchin, because that the Cardinal of St. *Honorio* his Brother, who had been a Capuchin, pretended that he was the only person of his Order that enjoyed that Honour. The Pope insisted upon this, That after he had given a Cap to one Capuchin, it wou'd be demanded for others of the same Order, as was already done; and so that Body, which at present was so well regulated, wou'd be corrupted by ambitious Thoughts, with which abundance of Capuchins wou'd be possess'd, that wou'd begin to pretend to the chief Dignities of the Church. The Marechal was very liberal in his Commendations of Father *Joseph*, but was not able to procure any thing in his favour; for the Pope still persisted in the same Reasons, whatever Arguments were brought to persuade him to the contrary.

Before the Armies cou'd take the field, the Duke of *Parma* resolv'd to come to *Paris*, to recommend himself to the King and Cardinal. He was \* received with all Demonstrations of Kindness, and was lodged in the *Louvre*, in the Queen-Mother's Apartment †. The Duke of *Weimar* came thither at the same time, and lay at the Arsenal; and though he was entertain'd with a great deal of Respect, yet they did not treat him like the Duke of *Parma*, who was received in the Quality of a

\* The 16th of  
February.  
*Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 189.

† *Ibid.* p. 394.



Sovereign Prince. This caused a little Discontent at first, but it was soon over, the Duke of *Weimer* having otherwise sufficient Reason to be well satisfied with the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Parma* obtained leave of the King to command a small Army, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to furnish him with, in Quality of his Majesty's Lieutenant. In his Absence, the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Modena* made some Incursions into his Territories, and made themselves Masters of some small places: those Troops which the Duke of *Parma* had on foot, assisted by some of the French, and the Duke of *Savoy*, not being able to defend them. For this reason he parted in all haste from *Paris*, to give necessary Orders for their Defence; and at his Arrival into *Italy*, he desired the Duke of *Savoy* to send him instantly a strong Detachment to beat the Enemy out of his Country, and to revenge himself upon the Duke of *Modena*: but the Troops which they expected out of *France*, having not passed the Mountains as yet, it was impossible to satisfy him. And now all the World began to condemn the Duke of *Savoy*, for having so rashly declared against *Spain*, upon the Chimerical hopes which the Cardinal had given him, to put him in possession of part of the *Milaneze*, so soon as it was conquered. He found it to be true upon this occasion, That a neighbouring Enemy is infinitely more prejudicial than a Friend afar off can be serviceable to us, although his power is in no respect inferiour to that of the Enemy.

Nevertheless the King, at the earnest Instances of the Duke of *Parma*, † sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to take the Field with all Expedition, to go and relieve him, since none of the Princes of *Italy* wou'd favour the League, if they saw the Members of it abandon one another. The Duke of *Savoy* resolved to satisfy the King, and wou'd needs carry the *Mareschal de Thoira* with him, for whom he had a particular Friendship, although the Cardinal kept him as it were banish'd at *Casal*, without giving him any Employment. Upon this there happen'd some Disputes between *Cregui* and him, which his Majesty soon ended by giving the Preference to *Cregui*, who was the King's Lieutenant; whereas *Thoira* served in the same Post under the Duke of *Savoy*.

\* The 18th of March.  
Siri, *ibid.*  
P. 396.

† The 18th of April.

1636.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Moderona* fortified themselves in the places which they had taken in the Duke of *Parma's* Country. The Marquis *de Leganez*, to whom the King of *Spain* had lately given the Government of *Milan*, placed the principal Troops of *Spain* at *Novara*, at *Pavia*, at *Alexandria*, and in the Neighbourhood, and threw a Bridge over the *Po* at *Girolo*, by which the three Bodies, into which their Army was divided, might have free Communication one with another, in order to hinder the Duke of *Savoy* from coming into the Duke of *Parma's* Country. On the other side, after several hot Contests between the Leaders, who agreed no better this Campaign than they did the former, it was concluded to accompany the Duke of *Parma* to the Frontiers of his Dominions with the whole Army, and to lend him six thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, to beat his Enemies out of it; and at the same time to fortify themselves upon the *Tessin*, and get *Oleggio* into their hands, that they might be in a condition to have a Communication with the Forces of the *Valloine*. Several Difficulties arose in the execution of this Design, occasion'd by the Misunderstanding of the Leaders, and by the Duke of *Savoy's* Neglect to furnish the Army with a sufficient number of Boats to pass the Rivers; so that if the *Spaniards* had understood Military Affairs, they had more than once found an opportunity to ruin the Army of the Confederates: but they took the Irresolutions and false Steps of the *French*, for so many Stratagems.

At last they came before *Oleggio* the 14th of *June*, and the next day *Orsini* made himself Master of this place, which surrendered in an instant. Three hundred Horse, that were sent towards the *Tessin* to seize the Boats upon which they were to pass, found that they were on the other side; but the *French* Commandant, who had ordered the Carabineers of *Montferrat* to wear red Scarfs, made the Boatmen believe they were Troops in the Service of *Spain* that were pursued by the *French*: and having by this Artifice perswaded them to bring their Boats on his side, they soon made themselves Masters of them. By this Trick, and by the means of some other Boats, which the Duke of *Savoy* had commanded to be brought thither,

thither, they passed the River, and the Marechal *de* 1636.  
*Cregui* being come up to them, they began to make a  
 Retrenchment to cover the Bridge, which they designed  
 to make in this place.

The Duke of *Savoy* marched at the same time to *Fo-  
 rans*, which upon his Arrival he found to be stronger  
 than he believed. *Thoiras* invested it, and ordered a Bar-  
 tery of four Pieces of Cannon to play upon the Town;  
 but as he stood too near this Bartery, a Musquet-ball  
 hit him full in the breast, and kill'd him on the spot. He  
 was exceedingly lamented by all people for his good  
 Qualities, and for the eminent Services he had done the  
 Kingdom. The Cardinal never loved him; because the  
 King had expressed an Inclination to make him his Fa-  
 vourite; and after he had sent him into *Italy*, made the  
 King jealous of him, because two of his Brothers had  
 been in *Monsieur's* Army at the Battle of *Castellaudary*.  
 Nor was this all; for he got his Governments and Pen-  
 sions to be taken from him, and gave the King such a  
 Character of him as he pleased, and the Marechal had  
 not the means to defend himself.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
 Rec. T. 8. p.  
 411. History  
 of Marechal  
 Thoiras. Lib.  
 3. remarks  
 the end.

*Fo-  
 rans* surrendered soon after, and the Marechal *de*  
*Cregui* join'd the Duke of *Savoy* without any opposition,  
 because the *Spaniards* had entirely abandoned all the pla-  
 ces about the *Tessin*, thinking that the *French* had a Design  
 to pass the *Tanaro*, and afterwards the *Po*. The Duke and  
 the Marechal continued together upon the Banks of the  
*Tessin*, one on one side, and the other on the other, till  
 the 20th of this Month, in consulting whether they  
 should send the Duke of *Parma* back again to his Coun-  
 try. The latter knew not himself what Measures to  
 take; but at last, for fear an Army of his Friends shou'd  
 ruine him, as well as that of his Enemies; he resolv'd  
 to part *incognito*, and in that manner, to get into his  
 own Dukedom, through the Territories of *Genoa*. As  
 he had no Experience in Military Affairs, he hop'd at  
 first, that within a few Months, and without any great  
 Expende, the Confederate Army would over-run all the  
*Milanese*; but having seen the quite contrary happen,  
 and his own State in Danger to become the Theatre of  
 the War, he wholly alter'd his Opinion, and became  
 fearful

1626. fearful very unseasonably, as he had formerly suffered himself to be led away with ill grounded expectations.

At last the Confederate Army marched on the two Banks of the *Tesin*, to fortifie some Post there, which they should judge most advantageous to command that River, and to make a Bridge over it. In their march they received Advice that the Marquis *de Leganex* was coming towards them, on that side where *Cregui* was, so that the Duke of *Savoy* set his Men to work all Night upon a Bridge, which was † ready by the next Morning, that he might joyn the Marechal. The Spaniards had Fourteen Thousand Foot, Four Thousand Horse, and Four Canon. They charged the French in the Morning, who sustained the Shock till the Duke of *Savoy* had passed the River. The Fight was so resolutely maintain'd on both sides, that it lasted till Night; the Victory being uncertain all the Day, and the two Armies return'd several times to the Charge, and would not give way. But the Spaniards retir'd in the Night, and the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marechal endeavour'd in Vain to begin the Fight afresh the next Day. All the Advantage they got, was the Field of Battle, and the number of the Dead and Wounded on their Side was somewhat less. In the mean time, the Duke of *Rabat* forced several Passes above the Lake of *Como*, but when he was at *Loch*, he sent word to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he cou'd not advance further than *Gravedonne*, because the ways were impracticable. Thus he was obliged to return to the *Valceline*, and the Duke of *Savoy* abandon'd the *Tesin* and \* went back to *Turin*. From that time the French Army began to diminish considerably by perpetual desertions; and on the Contrary, the new Levies of the *Milanese*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples*, daily augmented that of the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Parma* was no sooner returned to his Dominions, but he saw a considerable Body of Spanish Troops under Duke *Martin* of *Arragon*, who ravaged and plundered the greatest part of them. He then repented that he had not accepted the Forces that were offer'd him for the preservation of his Country, which he was afraid of burthening too much by receiving them, and he sent to demand them again with great earnestness.

But

† The 23d of June.

\* The 23d of July.



But the *Spaniards* being at that time Masters of the Field, it was not an easie matter to relieve him. To compleat his Misfortunes, the Pope published a Monitory against the Duke, by which he cited him to *Rome*, and commanded him to recall the Troops which he had in the Territories of any other State. Besides this, the Pope pretended to have Security in Writing, that he wou'd obey him in the space of Thirty Days, otherwise he threatned to excommunicate him, and give his Lands to the first Possessor, People were so much the more surprized at these rigorous Proceedings, because at that time, the Duke had Soldiers no where but at *Rome*, and the *Spaniards* ravaged his Country at Pleasure, and kept *Placentia* blocked up. The World was not then acquainted with the Mystery, that there was a secret Treaty between the *Spaniards* and the *Barberini's*, who desired to make themselves Masters of this Prince's Dominions, under any pretence whatever, and to put D. *Taddeo Barberini*, prefect of *Rome*, in possession of them. The King sent orders to the Marechal d'*Esirees*, to complain highly of the Pope's Proceedings, and hinder'd him from pushing on this Design any longer in publick. He likewise ordered the Marechal de *Craqui*, to succour the Duke of *Parma* with all Expedition, but the Passes being all shut up, as well through the State of *Genoa*, as through the *Milanese*, partly by the Troops that were posted there, and partly by the Rains and badness of the Weather; the Marechal was not able to execute this Order, so that the best course the Duke of *Parma* cou'd now take, was to make his Peace with the *Spaniards*, who being satisfied to see him humbled, did offer very reasonable Conditions, of which the Pope, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* were to be the Guarantees. But the Vexation to be so soon reduced to beg Pardon of the Crown of *Spain*, and the great promises of *France*, occasion'd this Prince not to listen to those that advised him to accommodate matters with *Spain*, although he was blocked up in *Placentia*, and 'twas now discoursed to besiege that Place in the usual Forms.

Thus this *Champaign* ended in *Italy* not so advantageously for *France* as it had begun, and their Victories were scarce able to preserve their Allies. The King



1636. was resolv'd to succour those places which he still held in *Alsacia*, to secure them against the Imperialists, who endeavour'd to retake them, and hop'd to reduce them in a short time, by reason of the great distance of the French. The Cardinal *de la Palette*, who had served his Apprenticeship the Year before in *Germany*, \* undertook this Expedition. They gave him Three Thousand Horse, and the same number of Foot, all choice Men; and with this Body, he very successfully re-victuall'd *Sleebstadt*, *Colmar* and *Haguenaw*. After this, he and the Duke of *Weimar* † opposed the Enterprizes of the Imperialists in *Alsacia*, to hinder them from coming into that Country, and passing any farther.

At the same time, the Cardinal procured an Army for the Prince of *Conde*, whose Lieutenant the Marquis *de la Maileraye* was to enter into the *Franche-Comté* and endeavour to conquer it. The Court complain'd of the *Compeois*, that though they were obliged to preserve a Neutrality in any Wars that might happen between *France* and the Crown of *Spain*, yet for all that, they had supplied the Enemy with Provisions, and harboured them in their Country, as well as several French Malecontents. They accused them of several other infractions besides, which they took care to aggravate in the highest manner in the Diet of the *Swisses*, for fear, lest they should undertake the protection of the *Franche-Comté*, as being Guarantees of the Treaty between the Crown and that Province. The Prince of *Conde* having enter'd the Country, and laid \* Siege to *Dole*, the *Swisses* sent a Deputy to the King, to desire him to discontinue the Siege, but they put him off with the same pretences that had been insisted upon in the Diet, and he was told that if he came from the Deputies of every *Canton*, they wou'd consider what was to be done. However a little sprinkling of Money among them, appeased those that cryed out the loudest, and so this Deputation went away in Smoke. But the Inhabitants of *Dole*, although they were attack'd with a great deal of Bravery, defended themselves beyond Expectation, and the place was in a Condition to hold out till the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* could come to relieve it. The Prince after he had got the outworks Foot by Foot, and with a world of difficulty;

\* The 2d of January.  
Aubery's Life of the Cardinal, lib. 5. c. 24.  
Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 457.  
† In the Month of May.

\* The 28th of May.

culty, ordered a general assault to be made the 14th of June, commanded by the Marquis de Villernoy, Marechal de Camp, but the French were repolled with loss. In the mean time the Duke of Lorraine and Lambi entered the Franche-Comté with Eight Thousand Foot, and as many Horse, and encamped within a League of the French Lines, designing to attack them the next day. But the Prince did not stay for their coming up, but rais'd \* the Siege immediately, and retired into the Duchy of Burgundy. The Imperialists followed him, and committed great ravages in Burgundy and Brest.

The Duke of Lorraine went afterwards to besiege St. Jean de Lône, while Gallas who had joyn'd him, ravaged the Province at Pleasure, and neither the Prince of Condé, nor the Duke of Weimar, nor the Cardinal de la Vallerie were able to hinder him. But this place having at first made a Vigorous resistance, and afterwards receiving a considerable relief, commanded by Colonel Ranzen, \* the Duke was obliged to raise the Siege, and Gallas withdrew into the Franche-Comté, and from thence into Germany. His Army consisted at first of Thirty thousand Men, and now was reduced to Eighteen Thousand, having done nothing but pillaged a few Castles, and some Villages. The little Order they observed in their Designs, the irresolution of their Generals, and their greediness of Plunder, made the Imperialists lose the fairest opportunity in the World of ruining France, which had been otherways extremely embarrass'd, and now had the good luck to escape a terrible danger, meerly through indiscretion, and want of Conduct in her Enemies.

The Spaniards formed a design upon Bayonne, which met with no better success. There were scarce any Troops on the Frontiers, and they \* entred the Country of Labourre so unexpectedly, that a general Fear having spread it self among the People, every thing fled before them, notwithstanding, all that the Duke de la Vallerie could doe, who arrived there in great haste, to assist his Father that was fallen sick at Bayonne. The Admiral of Castile, who commanded a Body of Six Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse, made himself Master of the Field, and at the same time of St. Jean de Luz, and the Fort of Socon, within three Leagues of Bayonne. But

1636.

The 15th of August.

The 2d of November. Aubrey's Life of the Card.

In October. See the Duke of Espron's Life, and Serri T. 3. p. 460.

1626. instead of advancing speedily to attack that City, which was destitute of all manner of Provisions, and could not have held out above a few days, he stopt short in the way, contenting himself to keep what he had taken at first. This oversight gave the Duke de la Valette, time enough to fortifie Bayonne, to provide it with Victuals, and to put the rest of the Province in a condition to defend it self.

\* *Sic. ibid.*  
P. 432.

The French on their side, endeavour'd in Vain this Year to beat the Spaniards out of the Isles of Hieres, by a Fleet of Thirty Eight Vessels that came from the Ocean, under the command of the Count d'Harcourt, the Arch-bishop of Bourdeaux, and the Bishop of Nantes. This Fleet happily arrived the 12th of August, upon the Coasts of Provence, but instead of falling upon Action immediately, the Marechal de Vitry Governour of the Province, made this Army lose a Month, being it seems incensed, because the Court had not employ'd him in this Affair. In the mean time, the Fleet ill equipped, and sorry provided by the Bishop of Nantes, who had been trusted with that Commission, were able to keep the Sea no longer; and that of the Spaniards consisting of Fifty Gallies, came in Sight, and threw a thousand Men with Victuals and Ammunition into these Islands, which wholly broke the Design.

\* *Sic. Mem.*  
Sec. T. 8. P.  
434.

Ever since † the beginning of the Year, the States General of the United-Provinces, weary of the War which they had for so many Years sustained against the Spaniards, began to renew the Negotiation with them, which had been interrupted. France was no sooner aware of it, but Orders were sent to the Marechal de Brezé, and to the Baron de Charnacé to endeavour to break off the Conferences, which were begun in Brabant, concerning this Affair, who acquitted themselves so happily in this Affair, that the States declared to the Spanish Agents, that they would conclude nothing without the consent of France. They assured the Marechal de Brezé of this their Resolution in writing, and made vast Preparations to continue the War: They offered to France, in case they resolved to attack the Spaniards by Sea, to maintain one Third of the Fleet, and to lend the King Thirty Men of War, if he would give them Two Thousand

and Livres a Month for each. The Prince of *Orange* demanded Ten Thousand Foot and Twelve Companies of Horse for this Campaign; but instead of listening to these Offers, the other Designs which the Cardinal had on Foot, and the good and bad success of which I have related, made him in all probability neglect the necessary Preparations on that Side to oppose the *Spaniards*. And thus the States-General not being assisted by *France* as they ought to have been, the Cardinal *Infanta* was not apprehensive of any great harm they could do him, and therefore directed his Thoughts to retaliate to *France*, what *France* had done to him the Year before. Besides, seeing the principal Forces of *France* taken up in *Italy*, and in *Burgundy*, he thought it sufficient to send the Count de *Feria* against the Prince of *Orange*, with a small Army.

He designed to make himself Master of the \* City of *Liege*, which had stood neuter ever since the Declaration of the War, and *Jean de Werth* went to besiege it, but the Inhabitants having made their peace with a Summ of Money, the Cardinal *Infanta* order'd that General to joyn Prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini*, and make a descent upon † *Picardy* together. The first place they besieged was *Cappelle*, which only held out \* seven Days, and then the Baron du *Bec* surrendered it by Capitulation. After they had taken some other small Places, they went to attack *Catelet*, which *St. Leger* who was the Governour of it, surrendered likewise, without staying till they had made a Breach. All People were surprized at the small resistance which the Governours of these Places made, and the Cardinal fell into an excessive rage against them, although it was purely his Fault; for the Frontiers of *Picardy*, even after the Declaration of the War, were left naked and unprovided, as if it had been in the midst of a Peace. To turn the Eyes of the World from himself, he composed a Council of the Officers of the Crown that were at *Paris*, and of some Councillors of State, which condemned the Governours of the Places surrender'd, to be quartered like Traytors. Nay \* he fell foul upon the Duke de la *Valette*, because he would not give his Vote to have the Baron du *Bec* condemned to die, as the Interests of the Minister demanded.

\* Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 5.  
Cap. 35.

† Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
436.  
\* It surren-  
dered on the  
10th of July

\* See the  
Life of the  
Duke of Ef-  
person. p.  
348.



1636.

All they could do at that juncture was, to oppose the Progress of the *Spaniards* by a small Body of Men commanded by the Count de *Soissons*, and composed of the Troops of the *Mareschal de Brezé*, which he had brought out of *Holland*, and of those of the *Mareschal de Chaumes*, who had acted the Summer before upon the Frontiers of *Arden*. But this Army being in no respect capable to make head against the *Spaniards*, and being also lessen'd by the Detachments that were made out of it to defend those Places which were in danger to be attack'd, they contented themselves to dispute the Passage of the River *Somme* with them, and to incommode their March. On the first of *August* the *Spanish* Army appeared upon the Banks of that River, and pretending to pass over at a certain place by the favour of twelve Pieces of Cannon placed in Battery upon the Banks of the *Somme*, they passed it at another place where the *French* did not expect them. The Count was resolv'd to attack their Infantry, who had with great haste cover'd themselves with Gabions; but he sustained so great a Loss, without being able to dislodge them, that he was oblig'd to yield the field to the *Spaniards*, and to retire to *Compeigne*. This alarmed the whole Country, which was surpriz'd to see that the Count shou'd fly before 8 or 10000 Horse, which *Piccolomini* and *Jean de Werth* commanded. Thus *Roye* the next day open'd their Gates to the *Spanish* Army, and the *French* Troops every where began to be possess'd with a great Consternation. It was feared, that as they fled towards *Paris*, the *Spanish* Army wou'd pursue them; whereas had they taken any Post that lay nearer to the Frontiers, the Enemies durst not have advanced too far into the Kingdom. Within a few days after, *Corbie*, which pass'd for a strong place, was taken, after a Siege of 8 days, although there were 1800 Men in Garrison there. *Soyecourt*, Lieutenant-General of the Province, surrendred it, without staying till it was assauled, or fearing the Punishment to which the other Governours were condemn'd.

At this time the *Parisians* were in an extraordinary fear, notwithstanding the King's presence among them, and the perpetual Arrival of new Troops, which daily encreased the Army. Cardinal *Richlieu* was curs'd in all places,



places, who had engaged the Kingdom in this War before he had provided for the Security of the Frontiers, and especially those of *Picardy*, which are at so small a distance from *Paris*. As he was beloved by none but his own Creatures, they now took occasion to say all the Ill of him they knew. \* It was not only said, that War was not his Profession, but they added, that he had a Design to deliver up *Paris* to the *Spaniards*; and that for that reason he had caused the Walls of the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Honore* to be broken down, under a Pretence to enlarge the City on that side. However, † notwithstanding all these Murmurs against him, the Cardinal being come to *Paris*, went into the City, without his ordinary Guards, as it were to hearten the People, and to let them see how secure he thought himself upon the score of his Innocence.

All the Companies of *Paris* went to offer their Service to the King upon this occasion; and they assented themselves to raise new Levies with all Expedition. All the young Fellows about the City that were capable of bearing Arms, were sent for. Those that had several Lackeys were obliged to send one, as well as the Tradesmen that had Apprentices to spare; and several Buildings at *Paris* were laid aside for the present, to list the Carpenters and Masons. The King likewise put out an Order, that all those that had above one pair of Coach-Horses should give one, to serve for the Artillery or Troopers; and that all Gentlemen, and all those that were exempt from Taxes, and all the Officers of his Household, should repair in their Arms to *St. Denys* within six days. In the mean time the Siege of *Dole* was raised, as has been already observed, and the King, on the first of *September*, found himself at the Head of forty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, and with a Train of forty Pieces of Cannon.

The Army being met together, His Majesty came thither, accompanied by *Monsieur*, the Cardinal-Duke, the Duke of *Angoulême*; and the *Marschals de la Force*, and *Chavillon*, besides abundance of other Officers. *Monsieur* was declared Generalissimo of that Army, and the Count de *Soissons* Lieutenant-General; which was rather done for fear of discontenting those Princes, than obliging them.

1636

• Aubery's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 5.  
Cap. 33.

† Aubery  
Ibid. c. 40.  
Sirh. Ibid. p.  
433.

§ 6 2 6. them. The Cardinal desired to be Generalissimo, and that the Count *de Soissons* might Command under him; but the Count refused it; and so he was obliged to bestow that Post upon *Monsieur*, which he desired for himself. Although they were now in a condition to beat the Enemies out of *Picardy* so soon as they pleased, yet the Danger they had been in, and the Affairs of *Italy* and *Burgundy*, threw the King into so deep a Melancholy, that he was displeased at every thing. He was concerned that his Brother had the Command of the Army, and that he lived in a good Understanding with the Count *de Soissons*. He express'd a great Coldness towards the Cardinal, for daring to censure his ill Humour, and his want of Resolution. He wou'd scarce be brought to see him, and he contradicted him whenever he spake of any thing; so that the Cardinal lost in a manner all his Courage, and neglected to give the necessary Orders. It was observed, that contrary to his custom, he shew'd a great deal of Civility to those people whom he had formerly slighted. One day he publicly asked \* *St. Yval*, whom he hated extremely because he was deeply engaged in the Parry of the Count *de Soissons*, what his Opinion was about an Affair of great consequence. He invited him besides to sup with him: and *St. Yval* was ravished with joy to see this haughty Spirit so humbled by his fear that the progress of the Enemy wou'd be the cause of his ruine. † At last he found himself so weakened in Body and Mind, that if Father *Jeseph*, to whom he discovered his most secret Infirmities, had not encouraged him, he was ready to throw up the Ministry, and by that means to hasten his own Destruction, which his Enemies had so long desired. But this Capuchin having inspired him with fresh Resolution by his Discourses, he determined to apply himself more than ever to Publick Affairs.

\* *Stri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 8.  
p. 442.

† *Stri Mem.*  
Rec. Tom. 8.  
p. 439.

The first Thing he advised His Majesty in this Conjunction was, to perswade the States-General to make some Attempts upon the Territories of *Spain*. The Prince of *Orange* was willing enough, but those that promoted the Treaty hinder'd him from acting with necessary vigour. However, he gain'd his point of them at last, and forbade the State's Agent at *Vienna* to talk any more of a Truce,

Truce. He took the field with a considerable Army, and was ready to make a Diversion in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case the Count de Feria approached the Frontiers of France. 'Twas at this time that Frederick-Henry received the Title of *Highbness*, which the Cardinal gave him instead of that of *Excellence*, which he had till then enjoy'd. The King concluded a new Treaty with the States, by which he promised them a Million and half of Livres, to be paid at Three several Payments in a year; upon condition that all this Money should be employed in carrying on the War against Spain.

To encourage the Army by his Presence, the King arrived there, as I have already said, at the beginning of September, and having advanced as far as *Senlis*, from whence he beheld one night the Flame of some Villages, which the *Croatians* had set on fire before they left them, he fell a Weeping at the Losses and Calamities of his People. But the *Spanish Army* being utterly unable to oppose the progress of the Royal Forces, thought of nothing now but retiring into the Low-Countries, because they had not time enough to secure their Conquests. Thus the Army of France came before *Roye*, and after this Place had been Batter'd for a few days, by Twelve Pieces of Canon, they surrendered to Monsieur by Composition. Afterwards it Marched to Block up *Corbie*, for there was no hopes of taking it by force. To effect this, they undertook to environ it with Forts, and Retrenchments, for fear least the *Spaniards* should Relieve it; but they were informed soon after, that the Besieged wanted Corn, and other Provisions. This made the Cardinal resolve to propose the Attacking of the place, hoping that the Garrison, weakned by want and Scarcity, would be obliged to Capitulate. The Mareschal de Chatillon was the first that proposed it in a Council; and this Advice, supported by the Authority of the Cardinal, carried it from that of the Count de Soissons, who believed, it would be impossible to reduce this place by force, at that time of the year. They made Three Attacks, and the Garrison finding themselves destitute of Victuals, and no hopes of a Relief, Capitulated on the 19th of November.

This

1636,

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Ric. T. 2.*  
*P. 442.*

This good success made the Cardinal as courageous as ever, and retrieved his Reputation, which had suffer'd mightily by the progress the *Spaniards* made in *Picardy*. However, \* People censured his Conduct, for uniting the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Count de *Soissons* in the Command of the same Army; because, as they were both his sworn Enemies, so they might lay their heads together to destroy him. The Minister was of opinion, that the Count de *Soissons*, who was of an imperious haughty temper, would fall out with *Monsieur*, and that their Domesticks, whose Interests were different, would take care to incense them one against another. But it fell out quite contrary, for these two Princes, who had been Enemies of a long standing to his Eminence, re-united more than ever to ruine him. They were made to believe, that if they still continued in their designs against the Minister, they would draw to their party the Houses of *Guise*, of *Vendome*, of *Bouillon*, of *Espernon*, and of *Retz*, whom he had scurvily used, and who appeared to be very much dissatisfy'd with him. So *Monsieur* and the Count being at *Peronne*, they advised together about the properest ways to destroy the Cardinal. Some were of opinion, That His Majesty should be made acquainted with the Ill-conduct of this Minister, who was the cause of all the Calamities the Nation groaned under; and that he had engaged him in a War, which he vainly imagined he was able to manage of himself, though he was much fitter to raise a Cruel War in the State, than to repel Foreigners. Others advised to dispatch him out of the way, for that would soon put an end to all these disorders: This last expedient seemed the best, and the two Princes being resolved to put it in execution, trusted the Secret with four persons, one of whom was a Domestick of *Monsieur*, and the other three belonged to the Count de *Soissons*.

During the Siege of *Corbie*, the King Lodged in a Castle near *Amiens*, and never came to the City, where the Cardinal lay, but when he held a Council there, after which he returned to this Castle. So *Monsieur* and the Count resolved, one day when they came to Council, to carry a great number of the Officers of the Army along



along with them, and that so soon as the King was returned to his Quarters, to find some pretence or other to stop the Cardinal, and cause him to be Murder'd by the Four Men, who knew of the Affair. With this design they came to the City, and the Council being over, the King retired according to his Custom. One of the Four Conspirators coming up to the Duke and the Count, as if he had something to say to them, asked in their Ear, Whether they still continued in this Resolution? They answer'd, Yes: So this Man made a Sign for the others to approach, at the time when the two Princes were discoursing with the Cardinal at the bottom of the Stair-case of the Council-Chamber. Nothing now remained for the Duke to doe, but onely to give these Fellows the Signal, and then the Cardinal had been certainly kill'd, without any possibility of escaping. But at this moment the Duke leaving the Cardinal with the Count, began to go up the Stairs towards the Hall in a great confusion: One of the Conspirators immediately followed him, and would have pulled him back, but the Duke never stop'd till he was got up to the top.

It was to no purpose for this Man to represent to him, That he had lost the fairest opportunity in the World, and that nothing had been so easie as to accomplish it: The Duke was so strangely disorder'd, that he could make him no positive Answer, but express'd himself in confused and doubtful Terms. The Count still entertain'd the Cardinal in Conversation; one of the Conspirators being behind him, and the other two at a little distance off; but Monsieur not returning, the Cardinal began to fear there was some design against his Person; and taking his leave of the Count, got into his Coach, and went home. He did not know till some time after, the circumstances of the danger he had been in; but from that moment he would never trust himself more in the hands of his Enemies. These Princes afterwards pretended, That when they were upon the point of having him Assassinated, they were hinder'd from doing it, by considering, that the Cardinal was a Priest: a weak Reason to put by the Execution of a Lawful Design, if this was one, and which did not ren-  
der



1 6 3 6. der the Crime much more heinous, if they looked upon this action to be a crime, as really it was. Besides, it was not at that very Moment when they design'd to kill the Cardinal, that they first learnt he was a Priest: no, they knew that long before; and if that reason was good, it ought to have dissuaded them at the beginning, from falling upon such a Design. But those people that had engaged these Princes in this Affair, attributed this sudden change to the natural weakness of *Monsieur*, which rendred him equally incapable of good and bad actions, when they required any force of Mind or Resolution.

Having failed of this blow, the Duke and the Count took the other way which had been proposed, to ruin the Cardinal in the King's good opinion of him. To effect this more easily, they endeavour'd to engage the Dukes of *Espernon*, *la Valette*, *Bouillon* and *Retz* in their Design, and they sent Messengers to them for that purpose; but they onely discover'd their thoughts by this means, without strengthening their party. The Cardinal who was inform'd of it, judg'd that the best way to support himself against them, and to be revenged of 'em, was to remove them from the Court, by making false Advice be given them, That the King design'd to Apprehend them. Thus being gone to *Paris* by the King's Order, on the 18th of *November*, while the Cardinal was still in *Picardy*, he Alarm'd them so dexterously with this false news, that on the 20th, or 21st of *November* at Night, both of them made their Escapes. *Monsieur* retired to *Blon*, without seeing the King, and the Count *de Soissons* to *Sedan*, without taking his leave of him.

As soon as they had left the Court, it was no difficult matter for the Cardinal to perswade the King what he pleased; but when His Majesty came to be informed, that these Princes gave it out publicly, That the reason of their going away, was, because there was a design to apprehend them, he was extremely offended at it; and, in reality, he had never thought of any such thing. *Monsieur* sent a very submissive Letter next day to the King, which His Majesty was pleased to Answer in very obliging Terms. The Cardinal Writ to him likewise, and made him great offers of his Services;

\* See T. II. 9  
Aubery's  
Mem. p. 13,  
&c.

ces; but, at the same time, blamed him for his over-great credulity, in believing good and false News alike.

As for the Count *de Soissons*, who was of a more haughty spirit, he sent the King a Letter full of Reproaches; wherein he complained, That, in stead of a Reward for the services he had done him, he found himself constrain'd to fly for Sanctuary to one of his Friends, to avoid Imprisonment. However, the King was not much offended at his complaints, and sent him word, That he had not the least intentions to have him apprehended; and that if he had left the Kingdom merely out of fear, he would consent that he should tarry where he was, and that he should enjoy all his Revenues and Pensions, provided he would behave himself like an obedient Subject.

The Duke of *Orleans* seemed to be well enough satisfied with their usage of the Count, for whom he pretended to have a particular concern, and the great kindness they expressed towards himself, had, in appearance, stifled all his Resentments. At last, after they had sent several persons to him, to know what occasions he had to complain, and to see what might be done in his behalf, to cure him of all his jealousies, † *Chavigny* obtain'd a promise of him, That he would suffer himself no more to be influenced by the Counsels of the Count *de Soissons*, and a \* Writing sign'd by his own hand, wherein he desired the King to favour him so far, as to put an end to every thing, that might give him any subject of suspicion, or distrust. This might easily be done, if the King would consent to his Marriage, or if he made him the Judge of it himself. If the King agreed to the latter, he demanded a place of security, where he might declare himself, without running any danger. The Duke added, That he hoped they would treat the Count *de Soissons* with the same lenity and indulgence.

*Chavigny* returned to Court, and was † soon after sent back to *Blon*, with a Writing from the King, wherein he approved the Marriage of *Monsieur*, if he absolutely desired it; upon condition, that he would not at the same time espouse the Interests of the Duke of *Lorraine*, or entertain any Correspondences that might be prejudicial to the

† *Siri Mem.*  
Rec: T. 8.  
P. 411.

\* Dated the  
11th of De-  
cember,  
1616.

† The 16th of  
December.

1636. the welfare of the Kingdom. The King desired, that *Monsieur* would oblige himself to the performance of this, by signing a Promise that was drawn up, and sent to him. As for what concerned the Count *de Soissons*, *Chavigny* inform'd him what Message His Majesty had sent to him. The Duke of *Orleans* appear'd to be well enough pleas'd, and told him, He was ready to sign the Promise that was proposed to him; but, he would not wholly conclude it, till he had Written to the Count *de Soissons*, if it were onely for form sake. He likewise desired, that *Du Fargu*, *Caudrai-Montpensier*, and the Abbot of *la Riviere*, who had lately been sent to Prison, should be set at liberty. This, though it was not wholly refused, yet they intimated to him, that it would be much more proper to ask these Favours of the King, after he had entirely adjusted all differences with him. The Abbot of *la Riviere* indeed was soon after released from his Confinement, because he promised to joyn with *Gaulle*, the Duke's Secretary, who was of the Cardinal's Party, to persuade *Monsieur* to doe what the Minister desired of him. As for a place of Security, they thought it by no means fitting to grant him one; and, unless they granted that, the Duke was afraid they would not keep their words with him. Some of his Domesticks put that into his head, as also to stick firm to the Count *de Soissons*, from whose Interests the Court endeavour'd to disengage him. As he was naturally inconstant and irresolute, he sometimes seem'd inclin'd to make his own Agreement by himself; yet Writ at the same time to the Count, who had invited him to *Sedan*, that he design'd to come and joyn him. But at last the Offers of the Court, and the Advice of those about him that favour'd it, determin'd him, for some time, to make his Reconciliation without the Count, and to feign himself sick of the Gout, that he might not go to *Sedan*.

In the mean time several of those persons who had been in the party of *Piulaurens*, came to *Blais*, and *Monsieur's* Court increased every day. The Dukes of *Vendome* and *Beaufort* came thither in private to offer their Services to him, and the D. of *Beaufort* engag'd to conduct him securely, where-ever he would be pleas'd to go. The Cardinal  
 fearing

fearing lest this Prince might be prevailed upon to alter his Mind, by the suggestions of those that were about him, advised His Majesty to dispatch Orders to all the Governours of the Provinces and Towns about *Blou*, to have an eye upon all the Passes, and stop him, in case he attempted to go farther, till they had fresh Instructions. Troops were posted in several places for the same reason, and people were set at *Blou* to look after all *Monsieur's* Motions, and send advice of all that happen'd.

Ever since the beginning of this year, the Court was informed by *Chavigny*, and the Count *de Guiche*, who were sent expressly to *Blou*, that the Duke of Orleans continued to demand a place of Security, such as *Blaye*, *Blavet*, or *Nantes*. The Count *de Saissons* demanded the same for himself, before he would return to Court, and named *Verdan*, or *Strasbourg*. The Duke supported this demand of the Count, whom he seem'd willing enough to abandon before; and sent *Chauldebonne* to *Paris*, to demand farther for himself, an enlargement of all his Domesticks: that after a General Peace they should pay all his Debts; that, for the present, they should pay him down all those Sums they had promised him; and allow him a Hundred thousand Crowns towards some Buildings he was then about; that they should not question any of his servants, or of the Count *de Saissons*; that he might reside where he pleased; and that they would assign him out of the Treasury a Pension for the Maintenance of Madam, so soon as she should come into France.

The King and Cardinal looked upon these Pretensions of *Monsieur* to be extravagant, especially what related to the Places of Security, which they thought these Princes demanded for no other reason, but to be in a condition, upon the first occasion of Discontent they pretended to receive, to introduce the Enemies of the Crown into the Bowels of France. So they were rejected, and the King enlarged the Chevalier *de Grignan* out of the *Bastile*, who had a great Ascendant over *Monsieur*, hoping that when he was near his Person, he might counter-balance the Credit of those who perswaded him to demand a place of security. They were per-



1637. swaded at Court, that *Monsieur* was so effectually led by the instigation of others, that they did not question but that if those that were about him would advise him to put himself into the King's hands, without making any Stipulations, he would immediately come and do it.

About the middle of *January* they sent him word, That His Majesty would grant him all the Securities he could desire, but that he was willing to see an end of this Affair. Upon this *Monsieur* dispatched F. Gondran, his Confessor, to Court, with demands like those he had made before. They discover'd plainly by this, that he onely endeavour'd to gain time to make his escape to *Sedan*, to which place the Count de *Soissons* sought all manner of ways to draw him, and that perhaps they waited till the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* were in a condition to act in their favour. So the Cardinal advis'd the King to go to *Orleans* in Person with His Guards, to put an end to this business, but he thought it the best way to send before-hand to *Sedan*, to the Count de *Soissons*, a Writing to Sign, by which he should declare, That if His Majesty gave him leave to reside at *Mouzon*, a small Town in *Champagne*, he would live there like a dutiful Subject; and that if the Duke of *Orleans* endeavour'd to debauch him from the Obedience he owed the King, he would not assist him in any manner. The Count answered, That he would leave that matter to the Duke of *Orleans* to act in it as he pleas'd; but refus'd to sign the Writing, by which he should engage himself to live in one of the worst Towns in the Kingdom. 'Tis probable the Cardinal made him the offer of that City, purposely to make him refuse it, that so he might not make his peace with the King so soon, for he hated him as much as he despis'd the Duke of *Orleans*, when he had no body to advise him. The Minister who put the same Sentiments into the King's Head, about both the Princes, perswaded him, upon the receipt of this Answer, to employ his Authority to make an end speedily with *Monsieur*, and to leave the Count, for some time, out of the Kingdom. So the King's departure for *Orleans* was fix'd on the 25th of *January*, and he was to carry along with him the French and

\* See it in  
Aubery's  
Mem. Tom.  
2. p. 17.



and *Swiss* Regiments of Guards, with Twelve hundred Horse. 1637.

After some Negotiations, *Monsieur* obtain'd a promise of the King, that he wou'd not pass beyond *Orleans*; but upon the Cardinal's \* Arrival thither, the Duke was so <sup>The 11<sup>th</sup> of</sup> terribly affrighted, that all that he insist'd upon amount-<sup>January.</sup> ed only to this, that they wou'd not apprehend him when he came to *Orleans*. The King † writ to him, to invite † *Aubery's* him to come and see him there, and gave him his Royal <sup>Mem. T. 2.</sup> Word that he wou'd be so far from using him in that <sup>P. 19.</sup> manner, *That if after he had been with him he still persist- ed in his Inclinations to leave the Kingdom, he wou'd give him free leave to do it, with all the security he cou'd desire.* The Cardinal joyn'd a Billet to it, where he assured him, *That he wou'd engage his life and his honour for the perfor- mance of what the King was pleas'd to write to him.* The Duke on his side sign'd a new Oath of Fidelity at *Blou*, wherein he begged a Pardon for the Count de *Soissons*, and promised to renounce all manner of Friendship with him, if he behaved himself unworthy of the great favour his Majesty had shewn him in giving him leave to enjoy his Estate, his Pensions, and his Offices, if he continued to act like an obedient Subject. Upon this the King made a sort of a Declaration, wherein he promised to leave the Duke and the Count in the possession of the above-mention'd Things, upon condition they did no- thing prejudicial to his Service.

After this, the Duke ‡ came to *Orleans*, accompanied ‡ <sup>The 1<sup>st</sup> of</sup> by the Cardinal de *la Vallette*; supp'd with the King, vi- <sup>February.</sup> sited the Cardinal-Duke, and was received extremely well, altho' all the World despis'd him for his Weakness. <sup>See Mem.</sup> Even the Cardinal-Duke cou'd not forbear to rally him, <sup>P. 474.</sup> though he made him abundance of Compliments. This Prince sent to acquaint the Count de *Soissons* with what had pass'd between the King and him, and to let him know, that if he had a mind to be comprehended in this Treaty, he had a Months time allow'd him to consider of it; and that in case he accepted it, he might either stay in his Government of *Champagne* with all safety, or come back to Court.

The same day that the Duke of *Orleans* saw the King, <sup>\* See the Col- lection of the Mem. of Aub.</sup> His \* Majesty sent Orders to the Countess of *Soissons*, <sup>T. 2. p. 18.</sup> who

1-639. who was at *Paris*, to retire to *Creil*, a small Town in the Isle of *France*, for fear lest she shou'd form any Cabals at *Paris*, in favour of her son. In the mean time this Prince received the Advice which *Monsieur* sent him; and after he had complain'd of his Inconstancy, he† answered, that he was very glad that the Duke of *Orleans* had given consent to the King; but as for himself, who had left the Court for no other Reasons but for the Interests of the Duke, and his own proper Security, all that he desired was, to live in quiet at *Sedan*, as his Majesty had promised he might do; That if it were lawful for him to complain, he might complain, that in the Declaration which was published in favour of *Monsieur*, the King pardons him a fault which he had never committed, since the King had not disapproved his retiring to *Sedan*; that he might add to this, the ill Treatment they had shewn the Countess his Mother, and that they pretended to take away from him his Estate, his Pensions, and his Governments.

† Aubrey's  
Mem. T. 2.  
p. 39.

Although this Answer shew'd much more Resolution than the Duke of *Orleans* had expressed, yet the Count de *Saiffans* was not the worse used for that. On the other hand, the Cardinal, fearing lest if the Enemy happen'd to make such a Campaign this Year as they did the Year before, and cou'd bring the Count over to their Party, they wou'd occasion infinite Disorders in the State, prevail'd with the King to send the Count de *Briques* to *Sedan*, to hinder the Prince from bending his Thoughts that way. The King and the Cardinal writ to him some time after\*, in very obliging terms, and in his Answers, the Count express'd a great deal of † Submission to the King, and Civility to the Minister, but wou'd not own that he had committed any fault.

† The 27th of  
March.  
† The 6th of  
April. Mem.  
of Aub. T. 2.  
c. 21.

In the mean time the Cardinal came to be inform'd, that this Prince, who was mightily beloved by the Soldiers, had sent several † Emissaries to the King's Armies, to endeavour to debauch several Officers there, and bring them over to his own Party. Besides this, it was † discovered by the means of Father *Hilarion* a Capuchin, whom the Court sent to him to induce him to reconcile himself with the King, or to know his last Resolution, that he was upon the point of concluding a Tre-  
ty

† Aubrey's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 1.  
Cap. 49.  
† Sir's Mem.  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 474.

ty with the Emperour, and the Cardinal-Infanta, by the Intervention of the Queen-Mother. The Cardinal-Infanta offer'd to furnish him with Money to raise a new Body of an Army, and the Emperour granted him the Title of General, to command the Troops of *Piccolomini*, to which the Duke of *Bouillon* was to joyn some others. The Cardinal had notice of this; and fearing the fatal consequences of this Treaty, sent *la Croisette*, a Gentleman of the Duke of *Languedoc*, to *Sedan*, as in the name of the Councils of *Soissons*, not believing that the King cou'd in honour send any one in his own name, after he knew how far the Court had advanced. *La Croisette* knew so well how to manage the Count, that he delay'd to sign the Treaty which *St. Thal* brought him out of the Low-Countries, and gave his Word that he wou'd not engage himself, till he knew whether his Majesty wou'd grant what he demanded of him.

*La Croisette* returning with all speed to the Court, obtain'd in a manner all that the Count pretended to, and went immediately to carry him this News to *Sedan*. \* The 14th of July. The King gave him leave to reside at *Sedan*, or any other City he shou'd pitch upon in his Government of *Champagne*, in case he wou'd not come to Court, or in any Foreign City that was not suspected, for four Years, unless his Majesty sent for him to serve him in any important Affairs; that then he shou'd be obliged to come, and that till then they wou'd not interpret his Absence to be a Crime against the State, or a Disobedience. The same Articles specified, That during the space of four Years, the King shou'd furnish him with 25000 Crowns a year, to be employ'd in the Payment of the Garrison of *Sedan*: That the Duke of *Bouillon* should be paid all that was due to him; and that the King shou'd testify to him, that he was well pleas'd with him for assisting the Count; and that he should augment his Revenue with 15000 Crowns, by reason of his Alliance: That the Count shou'd enjoy his Estates, Functions, Offices, Benefices, and Emoluments: That the King shou'd publish a Declaration in favour of all those that had follow'd him, that they shou'd not be taken again for this fault: That the Count shou'd sign these Articles, and swear Fidelity to the King, between

1637. the hands of one of his Almoners; and that the Countess of *Soissons* shou'd return to *Paris*.

The Count sign'd these Articles, and took the Oath of Fidelity to the King, as was expressly provided by the Treaty; after which he excus'd himself as well as he cou'd to the Queen-Mother and Prince *Thomas*, for not concluding that Affair which he had begun with the Cardinal-Infanta. His Constancy and Resolution made him obtain better Terms than the Duke of *Orleans*, without stooping to make any of those concessions as he had done. The Cardinal, who shew'd himself impetuous to the highest degree against those whom he did not fear, complied with those that knew how to make themselves be feared.

He did not believe himself so in relation to the Queen-Mother, \* for whom the King and Queen of *England* interceded in vain with her Son, towards the end of this Year. She sent *Monsieur* to *London* with an † Instruction, by which she demanded to be re-established as before, and the same favour for her Domesticks, and all those that had followed her Departure. But as they did not in the least fear *Charles I.* in *France*, and much less *Mary de Medicis*, they cou'd obtain nothing.

To come now to Foreign Affairs; ‡ The Duke of *Parma* being besieged by the *Spaniards* in *Placencia*, and in great danger of being taken there, had long ago implored the Assistance of *France*, which they were now resolved to send him by the Fleet that was arriv'd at *Provence*, to recover the Isles of *Honorat*, and *St. Marguerit*. But when this Succour was ready to part, the Duke of *Parma* fearing that it wou'd not come soon enough, made an Accommodation with the *Spaniards*, by the means of *Pandolfini*, Minister to the Grand Duke, who performed all the Offices of a Mediator. He excus'd himself to the King of *France* upon the invincible necessity he lay under; and the Court did not seem to be much displeased with him, because they knew not which way to get into his Country, nor how to find Subsistence for their Troops there, which they design'd to send him. The Duke of *Parma* order'd the few *French* Forces he had in his Dominions to depart, and after that was oblig'd to surrender *Sabioneta* to the *Spaniards*, under a pre-  
tence

\* *Sixi Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
339.  
† *Dated*  
the 11th of  
September.

‡ *Idem.*  
p. 476.



tence of restoring that little Principality to the Neice of the Princeſs *de Stigliano* lately deceaſed. He likewiſe adjusted Matters ſoon after with the Duke of *Modena*: And thus the League of *Italy*, and the great Hopes that were built upon it, fell to the ground.

The Marquiſs *de Leganes* enter'd afterwards into *Montferrat*, where he took *Caſtel Penzone* and *Nice de la Paille*; but advancing towards *Final*, with a Deſign to cover it, becauſe the Mareſchal *de Croqui* made as if he had a mind to attack that place, he was obliged to retire in Diſorder, after the loſs of five or ſix hundred of his Men.

In the mean time the French Fleet, \* that they ſhou'd \* *Siri*, that not be ſaid to do nothing, went to attack the Iſle of *Sardinia*, although they had ſcarce one Pilot aboard the Fleet that knew the Harbours and the Roads. However, they arrived very happily there, and made a Deſcent in the Bay of *Orifſan*, without any one to oppoſe them. The French afterwards took a City of that name, which they found full of Proviſions. The Officers had reſolved at firſt to ſpare private Houſes, and only carry off the Victuals, and ſend them to the Fleet; but this Order being ill executed, and the Country Houſes plundered, all the Iſland took the Alarm, and the Inhabitants perceiving the ſmall Numbers of the French, who were wholly deſtitute of Horſe, reſolved to beat them out by force. The French, who did not make above four thouſand Foot with ſome Field-pieces, fearing to be over-run by the Cavalry of the Iſland which were as many as they were, and beſides were followed by a conſiderable Body of Foot, thought of making a Retreat, which they performed ſuckily enough, by reaſon of the great Inexperience of their Enemies Militia. In this Precipitation they ſcarce carried away any thing but the Glory of having ſhewn the Nobility and People of the Iſland that they underſtood the Affairs of War better than they did.

So ſoon as theſe Naval Forces were \* returned to *Provence*, they had Orders to attack the Iſles, poſſeſſed by the Spaniards. This they executed with ſo much Vigour, that in a few Days, the † King was Maſter of the Iſle of *St. Margaret*, notwithstanding the brave Reſiſtance of the Spaniards, after which they forced the Gaſſion

\* See *Siri*  
*Mem. Rec. T.*  
8. p. 502.

† The 12th  
of May. See  
*Charles* Re-  
turned upon the  
Year.



1 6 3 7. Garrison of St. *Honorat* to Capitulate, to have the Liberty to retire without Cannon, without Ammunition, and without Colours. The Count *d'Harcourt*, who commanded the Fleet, acquir'd a great deal of Reputation upon this occasion, as well as *Castelan*, who commanded the Troops in Quality of *Mareschal de Camp*. The Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who was likewise there, attributed to himself part of the Honour of this Action, although others wou'd have been apt to say, that he neither understood the office of a Bishop, nor that of a General, of which he was so Ambitious.

Thus the *Spaniards* were beaten out of the Isles of St. *Honorat* and St. *Margaret*, which had cost them a great deal, though they scarce made any advantage of them, while they kept them in their Hands. The Duke de la *Valette* found it an easie matter to \* turn them out of *Guicenne*, without doing any thing else than cutting off their Provisions. They were reduced to such great extremities, that without staying till they were attacked, they embark'd their Artillery and the Sick at *Socus* of their own accord, after which the rest of the Army march'd. All this while the Duke de la *Valette* had been but sordily assisted by the Court, where he was not much respected, because neither he, nor his Father had ever submitted to the Cardinal's Authority, although the Son was allied to the Minister.

† The Life of  
the Duke of  
Espernon.  
9 Sirr Mem.  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
113. See also  
Ch. Bernard.  
Lett. 18. S. 10.

The Attempt which the *Spaniards* made upon *Languedoc*, towards the end of the same Summer, met with no better Success, although the *French* were not in a very good Condition to receive them. Count *Serbellon* at the Head of Fourteen Thousand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horse, went to besiege *Leucate*, on the last day of *August*. He attack'd it with a great deal of Vigour, but the place being sufficiently strong, what by its Fortifications, and what by its natural Situation, *Du Barry* the Governour defended it so well, that the Duke of *Hallain* Governour of the Province, had time enough to come to the relief of it. Having presently got together Ten Thousand Men of the Militia of *Languedoc*, brave fighting Fellows, and well season'd in the Civil Wars, with Seven or Eight Hundred Horse, of which he made a review at *Narbonne* the 22d of *September*, he march'd

marched four Days after in order of Battle, towards the Enemy's Camp. After he had taken a view of them, he resolved to attack them on the 28th of the same Month, at the beginning of the Night. The *Spaniards* surprized to meet the Enemy without seeing them, and not knowing where to run, fell into a great Disorder, after they had made a feeble Opposition for a few Hours. At last they found there was no other way to save themselves, but by abandoning their Camp, with all their Ammunition and Baggage, and the Night which furnished the Enemy with an opportunity to vanquish them, favoured their Flight. In Recompence of this brave Action and several other Services, the Duke of *Hallain* received a Marechal's Staff of *France* on the 27th of *October*, and was ever after, called the Marechal de *Schemberg*, as his Father was.

The same Day, the Marechal de *Vivry* Governour of *Provence*, with whom the Court was highly dissatisfied, because he had ruined their first enterprize upon the *Iles St. Honorat*, and *St. Marguerit*, was arrested by the Marquis de *Gloras*, and carried to the *Bastile*. His Government of *Provence* was given at the same time to Count d'*Alets*.

The *French* did not only defend themselves with a great deal of Success in *Gaienne* and *Languedoc*, and turn the *Spaniards* out of all those Places they had taken, but they attack'd them in the Low-Countries with sufficient Advantages on their Side. The Cardinal de *la Valette*, and the Duke of *Candalle* his Brother, who had commanded a long while in the Service of the *Venetians*, and was now returned into *France*; besieged *Landreci*, a City of *Hennault*, which \* capitulated soon after. From hence they marched to attack *Capelle*, and took it, through the Cowardice of the Governour, who did not give the Cardinal *Infante* a time to relieve him, although he advanced by great Marches, with Fifteen Thousand Men. He was not far off, when he heard that the Place was in the Hands of the *French*. The † King had desired ever since the last Year to lay Siege to this Place, to get from the *Spaniards* all that they had taken, but the Season was too far advanced, after the taking of *Corbie*, to engage in a new Siege. He there-  
fore

\* The 23d. of  
July. *Siri*  
*Mem. Rec.T.*  
8. p. 511.  
and *Bernard*.  
Lib. 18. S. 6.

† *Aubery's*  
*Life of the*  
*Cardinal Lib.*  
6. Cap. 51.

1637. fore was resolved to have it done this Year, and to be there himself in Person, but there appeared some difficulty in the attempt, which made the Cardinal dissuade him from it, and propose the design of besieging *Avesnes*. In the mean time, as they were preparing all things to put it in Execution, 'twas believed their attempt upon that Place wou'd miscarry, and for that reason they bethought themselves to attack *Capelle*. The King was extremely incensed at their besieging it, after they had dissuaded him from it as being a dangerous Enterprize, as if they had envied him the Honour of reducing that Place. Nay, he was angry with the Cardinal, as if this Minister had designed to deceive him: But the Minister appeased him, by procuring an Attestation signed by the Officers of the Army; wherein they affirmed, that they had resolved upon this Enterprize in the ordinary Forms, finding the opportunity to be favourable to them, and not at all by the Cardinal's Order.

At this time, the Minister found out the Correspondence which the Queen had kept with the Dutchels *de Chevreuse*, a discarded Mistress of the Cardinal, as 'tis reported, and ordered the Man to be apprehended, by whose means she managed this Commerce, as if the Queen had been obliged to give him an account of all those, with whom she had any manner of Concern. The Superiour of *Val du Grace*, who was accused to be in the intrigue, was likewise removed to another Convent. Every thing that touched the Minister never so little, was a Crime against the State, and was punished more severely than what regarded the King's Person; but to return to the Affairs of War.

On the other side, the Marechal *de Châtillon* attack'd *Tovix*, in the Country of *Luxemburg*, and although it was defended with great Gallantry by Colonel *Bronx*, it was forced to surrender towards the end of *August*. But the French did not enjoy this Conquest long, for at the beginning of *September*, this place fell again into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who made themselves Masters of it by surprize. This Loss troubled the King exceedingly, and to make amends for it, the Marechal *de Châtillon*, whom the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Marquiss *de la Meilleraye* had joyned, with

with the Body which they commanded, went to besiege *Damvilliers*, while the Duke of *Candalle*, who was with another Body at *Maubeuge*, kept the Cardinal *Infanta* in Breath. This Prince, after he had failed in his design'd relief of *Capelle*, endeavour'd with as little success to oblige the Prince of *Orange* to raise the Siege of *Breda*, but was not able so much as to fall upon his Quarters. *Frederick-Henry* enter'd this place the 9th of October, and all that the Cardinal *Infanta* cou'd do, was to make himself Master of *Bento* and *Ruremond* in *Guelderland*. A few days after, he received the uncomfortable News, that *Damvilliers*, one of the best places in the Country of *Luxemburg*, \* had surrendred to the Marechal de *Châtillon*. The French took several other small places this Campaign, in the Low-Countries, and the *Franche-Comté*, where their Army was commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*.

\* The 13d of October.

If the *Spaniards* had met with no better success in *Italy* than they had either in *France* or the Low-Countries, the Cardinal had found just Reason for having caus'd the War to be declared against them. But the Loss which *France* sustained of the *Valtelline*, which had given them so much Trouble and Expence, very much diminished that joy, which their great Advantages in other places gave them. As this Minister was wholly taken up in Intrigues at home, by which means he made a shift to preserve himself in his Post, he was frequently oblig'd to neglect Foreign Affairs, and he was the readier sometimes to do it, because the Persons whom the King employ'd, were not in the favour of the Ministry. He discharged a great part of his Affairs upon Father *Joseph*, who was fitter to contrive any little Plots, than to manage great Affairs with Discretion. This gave the *Grisons* an opportunity to make an insurrection in favour of the *Spaniards*. They had never been satisfied with the manner of adjusting matters between them and the Inhabitants of the *Valtelline*; and besides, \* no care was taken to pay their Troops, as they were promised. At this time indeed it was impossible to do it, by reason of the vast Expences in other Places, some of which were as good as thrown away, as particularly the great Charges they were at for equipping the Fleet, in the Year 1636,

occa-

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 1. p.  
p. 497.



1637. occasion'd by the differences between the Officers, and the Marechal de Viny. Thus they were indebted upwards of a Million to the Troops of the *Grifons*, who saw there was no probability of their being satisfied, which disposed them to hearken to the Sollicitations of the House of *Austria*. It unhappily fell out too, that the Duke of *Roban*, who had a great Authority among them, fell dangerously ill. During his indisposition, the *Grifons* resolved to break with *France*, and they obliged one another by an Oath, to take up Arms to beat the *French* out of their Territories. The Three Leagues made a Treaty at *Ispruck*, with the Marquis de *Leganes*, and the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, for the execution of this Design.

On the day appointed for it, the *Grifons* abandon'd the Posts, which the Duke of *Roban* had given them to keep. One part of them entered into *Coire*, to secure that City against the *French*, and the rest positively refused to obey any other Officers, but those that were nominated by the Leagues. The Duke of *Roban* finding himself somewhat better, went to all places to appease them, and by his repeated instances at last obtain'd of them to stay two Months, to give the King time to satisfy them. In the mean time, the *Spaniards* put themselves in a posture to assist the *Grifons*, if they shou'd have occasion for them; and these two Months passed and two Months more, and yet through the Cardinal's Negligence, no Money came from *France*, though the Duke of *Roban* represented to him the great Danger he was in, if some course was not taken to pay the *Grifons* what was due to them. It seems the Cardinal had a Design to ruine the Duke of *Roban*, by suffering him to lose the *Valtelline*, and to throw the fault at last wholly upon him, in case he did not perish there. At last, all the Country took up Arms on the 18th of *March*, and some of them run to the place where the Duke was, to apprehend him; but he immediately retir'd to the Fort du *Rhine*; not that it was in a Condition to defend it self, but to avoid the fury of the People, who were provok'd to the highest Degree, to see themselves paid with nothing but fair Words. Nay, though the Fort had been in a case of Defence, yet the Duke of *Roban* was not able to



do any thing, because it was kept by the *Switzers*, who were fully resolved to deliver him up. The *Grisons* insisted, That the Duke should immediately give Orders for the *French Troops* to goe out of their Country; but, as he had no Commission from the Court to doe it, he was afraid lest he should ruine himself if he consented to it. However, he was obliged speedily to come to some resolution, or else to see the *French*, that were dispersed in several places up and down the Country, Murthered.

In this extremity he bethought himself of an Expedient, which, at the same time, saved his own honour, and the lives of his Souldiers. And that was to promise, That within Twenty days, reckoning from that on which the Treaty was Signed, he would Command them to quit the *Valteline*. But the *Grisons* not being content with that proposal, he offer'd to goe to *Caire*, and there to stay as an Hostage, till the entire accomplishment of the Treaty. By hazarding his Person thus, the Duke saved his Army, and gave the King time to send another General to the *Valteline*, through the States of *Venice*, if he thought it convenient, or if the Court was minded to abandon this Country, they might do it then with more honour, than if the Duke had given Orders for his Troops to remove, when the *Grisons* would have had him doe it.

In this conjuncture the *Spaniards* endeavour'd to persuade the *Grisons* to deliver up the Duke to them, for fear he should make his escape; but the *Grisons* would by no means consent to that, but rather chose to keep him, as a Prisoner of War, but would not give him leave to converse with any body. The term of Twenty days was expired, and yet no Order came from Court, the Cardinal being resolved to take no notice of the matter. However the *French Troops* \* departed, the Forts were consigned to the *Grisons*, and the Duke set at liberty. The principal Persons of the Country accompanied him as far as the Frontiers, as it were to excuse themselves for the Violence that had been used towards him. After he had crossed *Switzerland*, and carried his Troops to the Province of *Gex*, he left them in the hands of the Count *de Guebriant* Mareschal de Camp,

\* The 15th of May.

1637. Camp, and retired to *Genoa*, there to expect His Majesty's farther Orders. This Conduct of the Duke of *Roban* was extremely censured at Court, as if he had not been sensible that the Country would be infallibly lost, if they did not speedily supply him with Money, and as if he had not acquainted them with all that happen'd. The Cardinal caused Two hundred thousand Livres to be sent to the Count *de Guebriant*, with Orders not to obey the Duke, but endeavour to re-enter into the Country, out of which he came, with his Troops, in case the *Venetians* were willing to assist him. But now it was too late, and the Passes were too well Guarded; so that these Troops, consisting in all of about Six thousand Foot, and Seven hundred Horse, were ordered, part to go into *Italy*, and the rest for *Burgundy*, to joyn the Duke of *Longueville* there. From that time the War which *France* made in *Italy*, was only a slight diversion for the Forces of the House of *Austria*; and it appeared, by what followed, that the Cardinal had no other design than that.

This year Three Princes of Europe died, whose death, it was to be feared, would occasion great Disorders. The first was the Emperour *Ferdinand* the II, who died on the 14th of *February*. His Son, *Ferdinand* the III, who had been already Elected King of the *Romans* succeeded him. The Cardinal, for what reason I don't know, would not suffer *France* to own him, either for the King of the *Romans*, or for Emperour, although every thing had been done in the accustomed forms, and all the Catholick Princes, and the greatest part of the Protestants had own'd him without any difficulty. And therefore *France*, which otherwise would have disoblged the Electors extremely, and several other Princes, without any Necessity, or the least prospect of an Advantage to be made by it, soon after acknowledged *Ferdinand* the III, as every one had done before them. The Affairs of the *Swedes* went ill enough this year in *Germany*; and *Banier* was content to put himself in possession of *Pomerania*, after the Death of Duke *Bogislaw* the XIV, since he was not in a condition to molest the Imperialists.

The second Prince that died this year, was *Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua*. While he lived in *France*, as a † Subject, he had a great Reputation, and passed for a Prince of equal bravery and prudence. After he became a Sovereign, he seemed to bend under the weight of Affairs, and could not find any expedient to hinder the desolation of his Countrey, either by the way of Arms, or that of Negotiation. He left his Dominions to *Charles* his Grandson, born of the Duke of *Retzel*, and *Mary* of *Mantua*, who was his Guardian. She was the Daughter of *Vincent* Duke of *Mantua*, and *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Daughter to *Charles Emanuel*.

The Third was *Buts-Amadeo*, Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 7th of *October*. He was as much esteem'd as any Prince of his time, for his Conduct both in Peace and War. The only thing he is blamed for, was his weakness in suffering *Mazarine* to persuade him to deliver up *Pignerol* to *France*; by which Surrendry he left his Territories on the other side the Mountains to their discretion and Mercy. 'Tis true, he deceived *Spain* in doing so, but at the same time he deceived himself infinitely more, and only kept the bare Title of a Sovereign Prince, unless he had a mind to show the marks of his Sovereignty, by causing his Country to be ruined by the *French*, whose will he was otherwise obliged to follow. *Francis Hyacinth*, his Son, succeeded him, who dying soon after, *Charles Emanuel* took his place, an Infant Four years old. The Duke his Father left *Christina* of *France* his Guardian and Regent, who was owned in this quality by the Senates of *Turin* and *Chambery*, and by all the Orders of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*.

The Death of this \* Prince was fatal to his Estates, because he was engaged in an open War with *Spain*, who now had a fair opportunity to invade them, and would so much the sooner embrace it, because the Regent being Sister to the King of *France*, she would, in all probability, depend wholly upon him. On the other side, *Maurice*, Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas*, favoured *Spain* openly, who might have a plausible pretence to come into *Piedmont*, to put them in possession of the Guardianship and Regency, to which they might pretend

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† He died 23<sup>rd</sup> of

September.

Seri Mem.

Rec. T. 8. p.

478.

\* Siri, ibid.

p. 481.

1637. tend whenever they thought fit. These considerations inclined Madam of *Savoy*, and her Council, to endeavour to make a Peace with *Spain* as soon as might be, to hinder the ruine of her Country. Besides, she discover'd, soon after the Death of the Duke her Husband, how little she was to rely upon the Ministers of the King her Brother. *L'Emery*, Ambassador of *France* at *Turin*, design'd, with the assistance of the *French* Troops that were quarter'd about *Vercell*, where the Duke died, to seize upon the Person of the Dutchess, and of the Princes her Sons, under a pretence to prevent the designs of the *Spaniards*, who would endeavour to engage this Princess in their Party, or at least to observe a Neutrality. The Ambassador propos'd this enterprize to the Mareschal *de Crequi*, but the Mareschal would not consent to be the Instrument of a violence of this nature, against a Daughter of *France*, and against Princes that were under the King's Protection. However, the Ambassador, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Cardinal-Duke's Temper; and knew, that in matters of State, abundance of things are approved of when done, which would not be allowed to be done, if leave was asked before-hand, did not, for all this, desist from his Design. But the Dutchess happening to be informed of it, order'd the Marquis *de Ville* with the Troops of *Piedmont*, to enter into *Vercell* by night, and caused the Gates to be shut to several *French* Officers that came thither, under a pretence of Buying Victuals for their Souldiers. By this means she frustrated this Design, and the Troops of *France* had Orders to remove from *Vercell*.

The Marquis *de S. Maurice*, Ambassador of *Savoy* in *France*, having received the News of the Death of the Duke his Master, went to carry it to the King and Cardinal, who promised to protect the young Duke, and the Dutchess, with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The Cardinal gave the Ambassador to understand, who complain'd of *Emery's* design, that the King had no hand in it, and that he would go to assist his Sister in Person, if it were necessary. At the same time he advis'd the Dutchess to two things; one of them was, to put such Subjects of the Duke, as she was well assured of, into all the Strong Places of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*: the other was,



was, To treat her Brothers-in-Law with all the Civility imaginable; but not to suffer them to come into the Dominions of the Duke her Son. Upon this the Ambassador told him, That the best way the Dutchess could take to live at peace with all the World, would be to clap up a Peace with *Spain*: To which the Cardinal answer'd, That she might expect from the King her Brother every thing that was for the advantage of the House of *Savoy*, even though it should be against the Interest of the Crown, but that he did not see any security in a particular Peace.

The Cardinal afterwards made a Solemn Visit to the Ambassador; where, after the first Compliments were over, he told him, "That he was surprized that *Madam of Savoy* had any suspicion of the *French Troops*, "since the *Mareschal de Crequi* had immediately drawn them off from about *Verceil*, and conducted them to *Casal*: that he had discover'd, upon this occasion, the inclination of some of her Counsellors, that had advised her to send with all expedition into *Spain*, which apparently tended to disengage her from *France*; that he hoped a General Peace would be soon concluded, but that if the Dutchess and her Council were too impatient, the King would not hinder her from making a particular accommodation by her self, but that his honour would not permit him to abandon his other Allies.

The Cardinal of \**Savoy* was desirous at the same time to come into *Piedmont*, to offer his Services to the young Duke and the Regent by word of Mouth: but she desired him to let it alone, for fear of giving any suspicion to *France*, with whom he very well knew she was obliged to manage her self cautiously, since neither her Brother, nor her Husband, could have drawn the Indignation of that Court down upon them, without being considerable losers by the bargain. She likewise received Compliments from Prince *Thomas*, by the Marquis *Palavicini*. This Prince represented to her, That the *French*, under a show of Protecting her, might take the opportunity to seize upon *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, and that if *Spain* was induced to bring the War thither for that reason, the States of the House of *Savoy* would

\* *Sir's Mem.*  
Rec. T. 2.  
P. 485.



1637. be inevitably ruin'd: that therefore she ought to hinder the *French* from making themselves Masters of the Strong Places, that she might not bring these inconveniences upon her Self; and that he was ready to come there, where his Presence would be necessary, to hinder the *French* from possessing themselves of all: That the more she was interested in the Preservation of the Princes her Children, so much the greater haste she should make to take the necessary measures for such a Design; and so much the rather, because it was visible that this War was not carried on for the Grandeur of the King her Brother, nor of his Kingdom, but to preserve the Cardinal in his present Dignity.

Towards the end of this year, the Cardinal perceiving that the King was extremely Melancholy, did all that he could to penetrate into the reason of it. As the King was able to conceal nothing from him, and all those that approached His Majesty, were his own Creatures, except the Confessor, he came to know, that he was troubled with remorse of Conscience for suffering the Queen his Mother to be out of the Kingdom so long, after all the Submissions she had made him. This Prince, who had neither good nor bad inclinations of himself, but as they were put into him by others, was not capable of receiving such a Scruple as that, all on the sudden; and the Cardinal soon discover'd, that the Confessor had possessed him with it. \* This Jesuit had the vanity to imagine, that he should make himself sole Master, and be able to destroy the Minister in a short time, against whom he had spoken several things, as it were *en passant*. This was a dangerous enterprise, as well in respect of the implacable humour of the Cardinal, if he did not succeed, as of the King's weakness, who told him again of every thing he heard. However, Father *Cassini*, who had long deliberated upon the matter, and waited a favourable opportunity to open himself frankly to the King, against the Conduct of his Minister, thought he had now found it, and began to represent to him all his Miscarriages, in the most violent Expressions he could think of. He concluded, that His Majesty ought to Discard him for Four principal Reasons. The first was the Banishment of

• *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 573.

of the Queen-Mother, who was left in so great an Indigence, that she wanted even the Necessaries of Life: and this Reason seemed to make some impression upon the King. The second was, that the Cardinal usurped all the Royal Authority, so that nothing remain'd to His Majesty but the bare Name of King; and that the whole Nation had recourse to him, as the supreme Disposer of all Favours. The third was, the Oppression of the People who were reduced to the last misery by the exorbitant Taxes. The fourth was, the Interest of Religion, which the Cardinal-Duke designed to annihilate, by supporting the *Swedes* and the Protestants of *Germany*, who through his means were become more formidable than ever.

As soon as Father *Caussin* had done talking, the King seemed to be moved by his Discourse, which in reality contain'd nothing but notorious Truths, and such as every one in the Kingdom, to their cost, were convinced of, but only himself. He appeared to be somewhat inclined to remove the Cardinal from the Ministry, if his Confessor cou'd have named any one to him, that was capable of succeeding him; but that was a point he never thought of, so unfit he was to manage an Affair of this consequence. The King afterwards asked him, whether he wou'd justifie before the Cardinal's face what he had then advanced against him. This Question put the Jesuit to a stand; however he recover'd himself, and told him he wou'd make the Cardinal subscribe to the truth of it, since he had said nothing but what all the World knew to be so. The King replied, that he shou'd see him then, and appointed a day; which was the 8th of *December*.

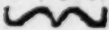
Father *Caussin* waited for this critical day, but found himself under strange Anxieties, especially when he reflected that there was no Dependance upon the King's Resolution, and that he must expect terrible Things from the Minister's Indignation. After he had considered with himself a long while what he was to do in this juncture, he resolved to communicate the whole Affair to the Duke of *Angoulême*, and to propose to him to fill the place of first Minister. The Duke going to visit him at the House of *St. Lewis*, he made this Proposal to


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him, which made him more astonish'd at the Boldness of Father *Caussin*, than desirous to accept the Station he offer'd him. However, pretending to be overcome by his Reasons, he fill'd him with mighty hopes, and promis'd to support him as far as he was able. The Jesuit was now impatient till the day appointed came, that he might in the Cardinal's presence make good the Accusations he had laid against him. He expected to see the Cardinal fall into an outrageous Passion, but was resolv'd to push the Business home, whatever it cost him.

But scarce had the Duke of *Angoulême* parted from him, but chusing the surest way, he posted directly to *Ruel* to acquaint the Cardinal with what he had so lately learn'd. Most People condemn'd this Fearfulness in him; but the Duke excus'd himself upon this, that not being able to repose any assurance upon the King's Constancy, and seeing that this Affair cou'd not possibly succeed if the Cardinal came to have the least knowledge of it by any other way, he wou'd never forgive him for that Confidence which Father *Caussin* had lodg'd in him. The Cardinal thank'd him for his Information, and assur'd him he wou'd always remember this Kindness: after which, he went to *St. Germain's*, to discourse the King. There he recounted to him all that had pass'd, and prov'd the four Heads of the Accusation to be false by such sort of Reasonings as us'd to impose upon His Majesty's Understanding. He remonstrated to him, how dangerous it was to lend an Ear to such turbulent Spirits, and concluded that the Father Confessor ought to be discarded. As for himself, he protest'd that he passionately desired to go to some place of Retirement, and that he wou'd do it, if it wou'd not be disadvantageous to His Majesty's Affairs.

The Confessor repair'd to *St. Germain's* on the day appointed, and came into the Anti-Chamber, as his usual custom was; where he was inform'd, that the King had shut himself up in his Closet with the Cardinal. The Conference being very long, was but a bad Omen for Father *Caussin*; and when it was over, *De Noyers* told him from the King, that as for that day his Majesty wou'd not perform his Devotions, and so he might return to *Paris*. By this he understood that he was undone;  
and

and the very same Evening an Exempt of the Guards 1 6 3 7.  
seized his Papers and Person. He was afterwards carried to *Quimpercorentin* in *Britany*, where he lived in Confinement till the King's Death. 

Although the Cardinal-Duke gave out that he hoped 1 6 3 8.  
a General Peace wou'd be soon concluded, yet in order to it there was no prospect of a Treaty set a-foot; and the Court of *Rome*, whose Proceedings are always very slow, did not leave its usual pace to perswade the Crowns to a Peace. The Fancy which had possessed the Cardinal-Duke not to acknowledge *Ferdinand III.* for Emperour, hinder'd them from entring into any Negotiation. Therefore among several Orders that were sent to the Mareschal d' *Estrees*, relating to the manner he was to treat of a Peace, or a Cessation of Arms at *Rome*, he was ordered to find out a way to acquaint the Emperour's Ambassadour, without letting him know that this Advice came from him, that if a Negotiation was begun, the Crown of *France* wou'd own *Ferdinand III.* Above all, the Ambassadour was so to manage Matters, that the Ministers of the House of *Austria* shou'd by no means perceive, that the King had the least desire either for a Peace or a Truce, lest any Advantage shou'd be made of such a Confession. They seem'd to be mightily displeased with Count *Ludovico*, Ambassadour of *Savoy* at *Rome*, for that having proposed a Cessation of Arms in *Italy*, he shou'd affirm that he knew it from very good hands, that *France* wou'd not oppose it. 

*The 1st of January.*  
*Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. Tom. 8.*  
*P. 542.*

The Dutchess of *Savoy* \* had one Father *Monad* a Jesuit for her Confessor, who had a great Ascendant over the Mind of that Princess. He seem'd to be mighty zealous for the House of *Savoy*, and had been so far considered by *Victor Amadeo*, that he concerned himself as much in Affairs of State, as he did in those that regarded the Conscience. It came into this Man's Head, whether of his own proper Motion, or by the Orders of Madam of *Savoy*, to procure the Queen-Mother's Return into *France*. For this end he took a Journey to *Paris*, where he contracted an Acquaintance with Father *Chussin* the Jesuit; and as he was a Man of extraordinary Address, he engaged him easily in this Design. They looked upon the Queen-Mother's Return to be as good

\* Aubery's  
*Life of the*  
*Card. Lib. 6.*  
*Cap. 17.*  
*Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. Tom. 8.*  
*P. 574.*

1638. as impossible, so long as the Cardinal-Duke continued in favour; and therefore they concerted Matters together to ruin his Reputation with the King. To effect this, Father *Caussin*, as has been already observed, began to insinuate into his Majesty, that he cou'd not with a good Conscience suffer his Mother to be any longer out of the Kingdom. The Cardinal coming to know that it was by Father *Monod's* Instigation that Father *Caussin* had embarked in this Affair, after he had caused the former to be turned away, endeavoured to remove Father *Monod* from the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, under a pretence that he secretly favoured the *Spaniards*. The Cardinal caused *d' Emery*, the Ambassadour, to tell Madam of *Savoy*, as from his Majesty, that having several just Occasions to suspect Father *Monod*, he desired her to dismiss him from Court. The Dutcheſs having no reason to part with her Confessor, whatever Stories were told against him, wou'd by no means give her Consent to it, and endeavour'd to disabuse the Cardinal. But the latter, who never hated any man by halves, pers'd her to turn him away with more Obstinacy than ever; as if it had been impossible for the King to live peaceably with his Sister, and to protect her, so long as she kept this Jesuit about her Person.

He was so incens'd against him, that he cou'd not forbear talking of him to the Ambassadour of *Savoy*, though this Subject had no relation to the Discourse then in hand. \* As the latter was one day telling the Minister how zealous Madam of *Savoy* was for the Interests of the Crown, and what care she took that the *Spaniards* might not be able to attempt any considerable Enterprize which carried the least probability of Success, he afterwards added, that if any thing had happen'd disadvantageous to the Crown, as for instance the Taking of *Ponzone*, it was through the fault of his Majesty's Ministers in *Italy*. The Cardinal answer'd, ' That the Negligence of the ' *Mareschal de Crequi* and *d' Emery* was not to be excused, but that as long as the Dutcheſs kept Father *Monod* near her, they must expect the like Disorders, since ' the King distrusted him, and consequently his Ministers ' cou'd speak of nothing to Her Royal Highness with any Confidence. The Ambassadour replied, ' That Father *Monod's*

† *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
575.



*Monod's* living at *Turin* had not hinder'd the King's Ministers from executing his Orders. The Cardinal persisted, 'That he told him nothing but the truth, and that 'his Majesty cou'd communicate none of his Designs to 'Madam of *Savoy*, for fear lest she should tell him of 'them again. At last, under a pretence that Father *Monod* favour'd Cardinal *Maurice* and Prince *Thomas*, although the Dutchess had evident proofs of the contrary, she was forc'd to give her consent to have him † apprehended. The Jesuit being inform'd of it, endeavour'd to prevent this blow, but was taken upon the Frontiers, and put in Prison at *Montmelian*.

† About the  
End of the  
Year.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Princes of *Savoy* sent word to the Dutchess, that if she observed the Neutrality, they wou'd not make the least Attempt upon *Piedmont*. On the other hand, *France* sollicit'd her to renew the Treaty of a League offensive and defensive, made with *Victor Amadeo* in 1635, and which was to expire in the Month of *July* 1638. Most People were of opinion, that this Treaty was actually broke by the Death of the Duke who concluded it, as well as that of the Duke of *Mantua*, and by the Agreement which the Duke of *Parma* had lately made with *Spain*. The Dutchess was willing enough to make a defensive League, as the Treaty of *Pignerol* had been, by which *France* was obliged to defend *Piedmont*, in case it was invaded by the *Spaniards*. Upon this several tedious Contests happen'd; and all that the Dutchess said she cou'd consent to, concerning the War they wou'd have her continue against the *Spaniards*, came to this, That she wou'd attack the Places that had been taken in *Montferrat*. As for the rest, the Council of *Savoy* was clearly of opinion, that she ought to keep the Neutrality, to preserve her own Country, without disengaging her self however from *France*, or making any new Treaty with other Princes. But it was insisted upon in *France*, that she should renew the Treaty of *Rivoli*, without having any regard to the Welfare of her State, or the Power of a Regent, which does not go so far as to declare a War, unless there be urgent necessity for it. Although she represented all this by her Ambassadour, yet it signified nothing; and they daily talk'd of sending a considerable Army into *Piedmont*,

1638. *mont*, to attack the *Milaneze*, and to defend *Piedmont* against the Designs of the Cardinal of *Savoy* and Prince *Thomas*. It was to be feared, that under a pretence of Defending it, the Cardinal wou'd make himself absolute Master of all *Piedmont*; and the Dutchess's Council, who foresaw this Inconvenience, did not know how to remedy it. Not to look back so far as ancient Examples, they had before their eyes that of *Casal*, which the *French* had never quitted since the time they first got footing into it. Whenever they were asked to restore it to the Duke of *Mantua*, they still demanded to be reimbursed for the Expences they had been at to keep it, which amounted to so great a Sum, that the Duke of *Mantua* was not in a condition to pay it.

\* The 11th of  
March.  
*Siri*, T. 8.  
P. 575.

In the mean time, the Marquis *de Leganez* \* laid Siege to the Fort of *Breme* upon the *Po*, and on the other side the River, *Sesia*, to free the *Milaneze* from the Incursions of that Garrison. Due care had not been taken to fortifie that Post as it deserved, and *Montgaillard*, the Governour of the place, did not acquit himself in that Trust as he ought to have done; so that it was concluded, the Town would be infallibly lost, if it was not relieved. The Marechal *de Crequi* went thither in person, and as he approached the *Spanish* Camp, with two or three hundred Horse, to observe them nearer at hand, he alighted, with his prospective Glass in his hand; and leaning on a large Tree to view the Lines of the *Spaniards*, a Cannoneer belonging to the *Spanish* Camp seeing some Horsemen on that side, and a Man in Red Cloaths come forward, he imagined him to be some Officer of Note; and pointing a small Piece directly to the Tree where the Marechal was, gave fire; and the Bullet carried off the Marechal's Left-arm, which held the prospective Glass, wounded him in the Belly, and pierced the Tree. The *French* carried him off immediately, and his Body being embalmed, was sent to *Lesdeguieres*.

† The 17th of  
March.

Thus died † *Charles de Crequi*, after he had given great proofs of his Bravery for several Years. *Breme* Surrender'd after a Siege of 15 Days, and after it had suffer'd an Assault. The Governour was apprehended at *Casal*, because it was discovered that he had but 600 Men in Garrison, although but 8 Days before the Siege he had been

been paid for 1700. Afterwards Orders being arrived 1638. from Court to bring him to his Tryal, he was beheaded.

After the Death of the Mareschal de Crequi, France found it self so unprovided of Generals, upon whom the Cardinal durst rely, that they were forced to send the Cardinal de la Valette into Italy, and so to order matters, that the Pope should not take it ill that they had given him that Employ.

In the mean time the Dutcheſs of Savoy, finding herſelf incapable of oppoſing the Forces of France, if ſhe offended them by reſuſing to ſign the League Offenſive and Deſenſive, ‡ was at laſt reſolved to comply with them; and by that means drew the Spaniſh Army upon her hands. His Maſteſty's Troops and her own, when the Cardinal de la Valette arrived there, made up no more than 10000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, and that of Leganez conſiſted of 5 or 6000 Men more. So before the French had augmented their Army, the latter went to Beſiege Verceil, and made their Lines of Circumvallation, that they might not be obliged to raiſe the Siege. There were about 1500 French and Savoyards in the place, commanded by the Marquiſs Dogliani, Governour of the Town.

‡ The 9th of June.  
See the Treaty in Aubery's Mem. T. 2. P. 147.

The People of Piedmont ſeeing a Spaniſh Army in their Country, exclaimed every where againſt the Regent, who ſince ſhe was not in a condition to ſuccour them, ought to have kept the Neutrality; and 'twas highly probable, that if her two Brothers-in-law came into the Country, they wou'd riſe up and declare for them. For this reaſon the Spaniards reſolved to engage them to go thither, under a pretence of taking part in the Government of the State, but in reality to make themſelves Maſters of it. The Cardinal de la Valette vex'd to ſee ſo conſiderable a place ready to be taken, at his Arrival into Piedmont, uſed all poſſible diligence to throw Relief into the Town; and he luckily accompliſhed it on the 20th of June at night, putting into it, without loſs, about two thouſand Men, commanded by S. Andre Maſter de Camp of the Troops of Savoy. However, in ſpight of the obſtinate Reſiſtance of the Garrifon, and of the Relief, the Spaniards carried on the Siege; and the Beſieged wanting powder, they were reduced to the laſt Extremity

1638. Extremity in a few days. Thus having repulsed one Assault with Swords in their hands, Pikes, and Stones, they surrender'd upon composition, towards the beginning of July. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, who was not posted far from the *Spanish* Army, was of opinion to attack the Enemy in their Retrenchments; but the Generals of the Dutchess would by no means consent to it, for fear lest if the Enterprize shou'd not succeed, *Piedmont* would be too much expos'd to the Insults of the *Spaniards*. After the Taking of this place, the Dutchess complain'd exceedingly of the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the people spoke ill of the *French* in all places. But that which threatned to hurt them, turn'd to their Advantage; for after this Loss, the Dutchess saw her self oblig'd to put *French* Garrisons into all the Towns of *Piedmont*, notwithstanding the Murmurings of her Subjects. At the same time the *Spaniards* failed in their Design upon *Casal*, which was favoured by the Dutchess of *Mantua*, who was entirely of their Party, and was angry to see her self a Dependant upon *France* by the means of that place. The Marquis *de Leganez*, to render the *French* more odious to the People, publish'd a Manifesto, wherein he declared that the true Intent of his coming into *Piedmont* and *Montferrat* was only to turn out the *French* from thence, and not to make War against the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, that were oppress'd by this Foreign Power. This War being on the side of *France* nothing but a politick War, to humble, as Cardinal *Ricblieu* pretended, the House of *Austria*, and as others said, to render himself more necessary to the King; and the Subjects of *Savoy* and *Mantua* not being engaged in it by Inclination or Necessity, but by force, this Manifesto of *Leganez* produced strange Effects in a short time. But his Army being fatigued, was scarce able to attempt any thing in *Montferrat*, whither they came after the Taking of *Vercell*, and both sides thought of withdrawing into their Winter-Quarters.

\* The 4th of October.

The young Duke of *Savoy*, *Francis Hyacinth*, happen'd to \* die at this time, being Seven Years old, and his Brother, *Charles Emanuel*, succeeded him. This afflicted the Regent excessively, who now beheld all her Hopes for the future, founded upon the Life of her second Son; for

for the Dominions belonging to the House of Savoy, were to fall into the Cardinal's Hands, in case this young Prince should die. This obliged her to unite her Self more closely to France than ever, and in spite of her own Inclinations, to resign her Self wholly to the Cardinal's Advices, without whole good Affections, it was of no Service to her, that she was the Daughter of Henry the Fourth, and Mary de Medicis, as well as Sister of Lewis the XIII.

The Cardinal of Savoy parting secretly from Rome, came incognito to Tortone, where he made some attempts upon Turin and Carmagnole, but miscarried in them; several Persons that had a Hand in this Affair, were sent to Prison, and the Cardinal interceded for them in a Letter, which he writ to the Regent; wherein he tells her, that no Authority could hinder him from coming to his Father's House. In the mean time, he narrowly escaped being taken, which had he not done, they had certainly sent him into France.

In this Conjunction, the Cardinal Duke writ frequently into Piedmont to the Dutchess, or to the Ministers of France to assist her with their Counsels. He represented to her in a long Letter, 'That at last, she ought to awake her out of that Lethargy, which had so long possessed her, since if she did not do it suddenly, her Condition wou'd be helpless. (His meaning was, that she must turn Father Monod away, otherwise the King wou'd support her no longer.) That perhaps God Almighty had permitted by an extraordinary Providence, that her Enemies shou'd force her to do what her natural inclination to Peace, wou'd have dissuaded her from (to sign the offensive League, and to put French Troops into her Garrisons,) against which Reason and her Interests seemed to advise her, that God wou'd not always work such Miracles as he had done upon this occasion to preserve her. That in humane Affairs, he wou'd have every one make the best use of that understanding he had given them, and that her Highness for that reason, ought to examine her Mind, and see what it advised her to. That Nature invited her to it, since otherwise she was unable to preserve her Son, as well as secure her own Preservation and Honour: That he wou'd not conceal from

\* The 10th of December.  
See it in T. 2. of Aubery's Mem. p. 230.

The 10th of November.  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8. p. 613.

her



1638.

her, that the Calumnies of her Enemies, from which she might easily defend herself as long as she lived, would pass for so many Truths, when she came to die. That to be plain with her, her Subjects did not love her, as they were obliged to do, whether because the Government of Women, is never so well liked as that of Men, or for some other particular malignity; that her Highness very well knew what it was to pretend to a Sovereignty in *Italy*, and that the weakness of the Cardinal of *Savoy* might be perwaded to Evil as well as to good. That in suffering Father *Monod*, to continue in his present Post, and *Passer* that favoured the Cardinal of *Savoy* to be let out of Prison, she kept the worst Councillors that she cou'd have against her. That since 'twas to no purpose, to represent to her the Evil that press'd her, without giving her the due Remedy, he assured her, she might soon put her self in a condition to despise all the World, if she wou'd follow his Majesty's advice, which wou'd never be different from what Nature and Reason inspired: That she ought therefore, without any farther difficulty, to secure her self of Father *Monod's* Person, and severely to chastise all such as had conspired in favour of Prince *Maurice*: That such Governours ought to be put into places, as depended absolutely upon her: That her Army was to be reinforced with Troops that she cou'd rely upon; and that for the guard of her Person, and that of her Son, she should choose none but her own Creatures, and endeavour to encrease the number of them by her Kindnesses: That if she took this Conduct, he durst with the assistance of Heaven, be answerable to her for the happy success of it, towards which, he would freely contribute his own Life; but that if on the other Hand, her easiness and indulgenced her the contrary way, she would fall into inevitable Calamities: That he beseech'd her to dispense with him, from concerning himself any longer with her Affairs, because if any misfortunes happen'd to her, they might not be laid to his Door, by his seeming to Countenance her Irresolutions. The plain *English* of all these Lessons was, to make her turn away Father *Monod*, and to become the Oracle of the Dutchess of *Savoy* himself, as he was of her Brother. Thus he seemed to be born

to be the Pedagogue, or the scourge of the whole Family of *Henry IV.* 1 6 3 8.

To come now to the most remarkable Occurrences in other places, the Cardinal ordered the Duke of *Rohan*, who was at *Geneva*, to retire to *Venice*, least out of revenge for his base usage, he might carry on some Designs against him. But the Duke pretending it was impossible for him to go to *Venice*, the ways being all stopp'd, he went to confer with the Duke of *Weimar* in *Switzerland*, and afterwards came to him at his Army. They had frequent Conferences together, which made the Cardinal very uneasie, and it was reported, that the Duke of *Weimar*, was to marry the Daughter of the Duke of *Rohan*. The former, after he had taken some few places, went to besiege *Rhinsfeld*, the Capital of the four Forrest Cities. *Jean de Werth*, Duke of *Savelli*, and the other Generals of the Emperour, marched to the relief of it with Ten Thousand Men. The Duke of *Weimar* being informed of their March, went to meet them by the Duke of *Rohan*'s Advice, and the latter who refused to have any share in the command of the Army, putting himself at the head of the Left Wing, \* was one of the first that began the onset and fought like a common Soldier. The *Imperialists* were beaten, after the dispute had lasted a long while, but the Duke of *Rohan* was wounded by two Musquet-shots, of which he died on the 23d of *April*: although the King sent him an obliging Letter, to thank him for the great Services he had done the Crown, yet he was not sorry for his Death, for his great qualities, and the past Wars had long drawn upon him the displeasure of the Court, which was never heartily reconciled to him, but only in outward Appearance. The Cardinal who by his good Will, employ'd none in his Majesty's Service, but such as were ready to do every thing he commanded them, and who had used him ill more than once, looked upon himself to be now delivered from a dangerous Enemy.

*Rhinsfeld* afterwards fell \* into the hands of the Duke. The 23d of *Weimar*, after which, *Friburg* and the Country of *March*. *Brisgow* submitted to him, as well as several Towns of *Swabia*. His design was to block up *Brisac*, which Place he had a great desire to get into his own Hands. He per-

\* The 23th of  
Febr.

1638.

performed it at last, but beat the Imperialists twice before he could lock up this place at a convenient distance. After this, the Enemy endeavour'd to throw Succours into the Town, and were repulsed with Loss. At last, *Weimar* forced *Brisac* to surrender, for want of Provisions, on the 19th of *December*.

This Place wou'd have been of mighty importance to *France*, but the great Services which the Duke of *Weimar* had done, those he might still do, and the promise which his Majesty had given him to make him *Landgrave of Alsatia*, were the Reasons why they suffered him to enjoy this Conquest. In short, he put himself in possession of it, and the Court connived at it, that they might not disoblige him at a time when he might do them as much Mischief as Good, till they found an occasion to get it into their own Hands, as we shall find in the Series of the History.

\* See the Campaign of Prince Thomas in Emanuel Tesau-  
ro's, Sr. O-  
mero Affe-  
diato.

This was the greatest Advantage which *France* obtain'd this Year against the House of *Austria*. The \* *Mareschal de Châtillon* at the first opening of the Campaign enter'd *Artois*, and after he had ravaged the Country all about; for what design no Body knew, he went at last to besiege *St. Omers* on the 26th of *May*, and as the place was not in an extraordinary good Condition, he did not question but he shou'd carry it in a very short time. But Prince *Thomas* having put some Succours into the Place, this retarded his Hopes somewhat, but he still fancied he should accomplish his Design. But at last, the aforesaid Prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini* obliged him to \* raise the Siege, after they had reliev'd the Town the second time, although the *Mareschal de la Force* had joyn'd him with a Body of Men. This ill Success was partly attributed to the over-sight of the *Mareschal de Châtillon*, who had not made his Lines of Circumvallation strong enough, and had carried on the Siege too slowly, and partly to the mis-understanding between the Generals.

\* The 16th of July.

However they drew off in very good Order, and Prince *Thomas* not following them, took the way to *Terwin*, to cover the Country, and throw some Forces into *Hedin*, which was threatned. The Cardinal was extremely concerned at the raising of this Siege, not only for the Interest of the Crown, but because he had flatter'd

ter'd himself with the taking of it, upon the score of a pretended Revelation of a certain Nun, in the Convent of Mount-Catuary in *le Maréts*. \* Father *Joseph* who had consulted her, it seems, told him, that this Nun had continued three Days in Prayer, that God would be pleased to reveal to her the Success of the next Campaign, and that at last she fell into an Extasie, wherein she had seen two Armies fighting near *St. Omers*, and the Victory remain'd on the King's Side. Upon this impertinent Vision, which either might be wholly invented, or else was the effect of a disordered imagination in the Nun, the Cardinal consented to the Siege of *St. Omer*, rather than of any other place, because he was in hopes that the King's Army wou'd obtain a Victory near that City.

The Cardinal *Infanta* had the good Fortune that very Champaign to † defeat Seven Thousand Men belonging to the States-General, who had made themselves Masters of the Fort of *Kalloo*, upon the Dyke of *Antwerp*, under the Command of Count *William* of *Nassau*. He likewise forced the Prince of *Orange* \* to raise the Siege of *Gueldre*, so that he might justly boast that he had made a very glorious Champaign. However he sustained some Losses, since the French took from him the Fort of *Renty*, which \* surrendred after a Siege of eight Days, and retook † *Catelet* the only place remaining in the Hands of the Spaniards, since their Invasion in the Year 1636. The *Mareschals de Châtillon* and *de la Force*, took *Renty* and rased it to the Ground. *Du Hallier*, *Mareschal de Camp*, took *Catelet* by assault, with a small Body of Men, who had been commanded by the *Mareschal de Brezé*, who being indisposed, obtained permission of the King to go to the Waters. These were all the Advantages which the French obtained in the Low-Countries, who at the beginning of the Champaign, had put the Cardinal *Infanta* into a great Consternation, by the great Preparations they had made. The King, provoked at the *Mareschal de Châtillon's* want of fore-sight, who had writ word to Court several times that it was impossible for *St. Omers* to miss him, \* sent word to him, to leave the Command of the Army to the *Mareschal de la Force*, and to retire to his House of *Châtillon*, without coming to Court. However he went

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
668.

† *Siri, ibid.*  
p. 476. The  
21<sup>st</sup> of June.

\* The 25<sup>th</sup> of  
August. See  
Relation of  
Em. Tesauor.

\* The 9<sup>th</sup> of  
August. See  
the Description  
of this Siege  
by Em. Tesauor.

† The 14<sup>th</sup> of  
September.  
See the Description  
in the same Author.

\* By a Letter  
the 4<sup>th</sup> of  
Sept. See *Aubery's Life* of  
the Cardinal.

1628. to wait upon the Cardinal as *St. Quintin*, and was not ill received by him; the Minister judging that it would be by no means adviseable to drive this General to despair, who might be useful to them upon another occasion.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
632.

*The Life of  
the Duke of  
Espinon.*

He had a fresh Subject to employ the same \* moderation towards the Prince of *Conde*, who met with worse success at the Siege of *Fontarabia*, than the *Marschal de Châtillon* had done before *St. Omers*. The Count-Duke having in the Year 1637, carried one Invasion into *Guienne*, and another into *Languedoc*, the Cardinal-Duke who was jealous of every thing that *Olivarez* did, resolved to quit Scores with him whatever it cost him. He propos'd to go and attack *Fontarabia*, to carry the War into *Spain*. It was a long while since he had caused that place to be observed by the *Duke de la Valette*, who dissuaded him from this Attempt, by reason of the insuperable Difficulties that attended it. However the Cardinal took it into hand again, and offered to trust the management of it with the Duke of *Espinon* and *la Valette*, upon Condition that they would advance one part of the expences of the War, and find a way to make the Province of *Guienne* bear it. If they refused to accept this Employ, they were to be told that the Prince of *Conde* would be sent down to command in the Province, and all the neighbourhood. Being afraid the Cardinal put them upon this enterprise, to carry on their Destruction, they rather chose that the Prince of *Conde* should take it. The Prince accepted it, and arrived in *Guienne* in May, to get every thing in readiness that was necessary to this Design. As for the Duke of *Espinon*, he had orders to retire to his House of *Plassac*, lest he should hinder, or cross the Preparations of the Prince of *Conde*, but the Duke de la Valette follow'd him, as his Lieutenant: The Prince, after he had made a review of his Army at *St. John de Luz*, on the 30th of June, march'd directly to *Fontarabia*.

While he invest'd this place, d'*Espinon* took *Passage*, where he found Six *Galleons*, and Five *Spanish* Men of War, furnish'd with all manner of Provisions, which he seiz'd upon. Five more of their *Galleons* fell into the Hands of the *French*, and the Admiral of this Fleet was sunk. Nothing could begin more happily than this



this Affair, and there was very good reason to expect it would succeed, because the *Spaniards* never imagined that the *French* would attack them on the side of *Guipuscoa*. Don *Christoforo Messia*, who had lately been made Governour of *Fontarabia*, was not as yet come to his Government. The Garrison which generally consisted of Five Hundred Men, could scarce make Three Hundred, and the inhabitants joining with them, could not amount to above Seven Hundred fit to bear Arms. But they had a famous Engineer in the Town, named *Michael Perez*, a Native of *Biscay*, and D. *Dominique Equia Destur*, another *Biscainer*, a Man of Courage, Lieutenant to the Commandant. The Prince open'd the Trenches on the 10th of *July*; and on the 2d of *August* the *French* Fleet, consisting of Forty Two Vessels, full Mann'd with Soldiers that were to be set on Shore, commanded by the Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*, appeared before the Port of *Fontarabia*. They took immediately or put to Flight several *Spanish* Pinnaces that came there, and gave chase to a Fleet of Fifty Sail, that brought Succours and Refreshments to the Besieged. The Arch-bishop receiving Information, that in the Road of *Gatari*, there lay Forty Men of War, and several other smaller Vessels, bore up to them, and some he Burnt, and others he forced to run ashore, although they were defended with some Batteries, that were raised on purpose by the Sea-side. Abundance of *Spaniards* were lost in this Action, that were burnt in the Ships or Drowned, and among others, the two old Regiments of *Castile*, that made up about Three Thousand Men.

The *French*, on the other hand, lost in this Action not above Two hundred Men, with some Officers, and only Nine or Ten of their Vessels sustained any damage.

Thus *Fontarabia* lost all hopes of being relieved by Sea; and as for what Succours could come to it by Land, the Prince flatter'd himself that he might take it, before the *Spaniards* could be in a condition to take the Field. The Arch-bishop, at his return from his Expedition, offer'd to Guard the Port of *Passage*, and the Mouth of the River *Orio*, by which way the *Spaniards* might throw Succours into the Town. This Affair was pro-

1638. posed in a Council of War, but as it could not be effected without dividing the Army, and they hoped to carry the place in a short time, the Prince was of opinion, that it was the best way to abandon *Passage*, not considering what advantage the *Spaniards* might make of this Post, if the Siege held much longer. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Army, Commanded by the Admiral of *Castile*, came in sight, and their Provisions arrived principally to them by the means of the Port of *Passage*, which made them, now it was too late, see, the great over-sight they had committed. But the chief fault was, that the Prince, who was not much experienced in Sieges, had not prest the Works with that vigour as was requisite. The *Spaniards* having possessed the Tops of the Neighbouring Mountains, were within Musquet-shot of the Advanced-Guards of the *French*, so that daily Skirmishes happened between the two Armies.

Altho' the Garrison was inconsiderable, as to its number, the Commandant made several Sallies, to retard the Works of the *French*, and to give time for relief to arrive to them. At first he had good success in them, but making one more considerable than the rest, at which time the *French* happen'd to be better upon their Guard than they used to be, they lost a Hundred Men, among whom was *Michael Perez*, who died of his Wounds in the place.

At last the Garrison was so much diminished, that it held out onely in hopes, that the Cardinal of *Castile* would come speedily to relieve it; and, they sent to inform him, That if he did not make hast, they should be obliged to Surrender, as not being in a condition to sustain an Assault.

In the mean time the Attacks were still carried on, and several Mines were played, one of which, on the side of the Duke de la *Valette's* Attack, proved fatal to the Besiegers \*, Blowing up Two hundred of their Men, who had Orders to make an Assault, as soon as it was play'd. Some that were not wounded, made a shift however to Mount the Breach, at which time the *Spaniards* were retired, being terrify'd by the Mine; but as they were not follow'd, they were forced to return back

\* In the Month of Sept.

back again. Upon the Reports they brought, it was 1 6 3 8.  
 hotly debated in a Council of War, whether they  
 should give a General Assault or no; but, in the inter-  
 rim, the Garrison Sallying out at the Breach, made a  
 Retrenchment upon the Top of the Bastion, which had  
 been ruined by the Mine. † Nevertheless, the Prince  
 gave his Advice, That they should endeavour to lodge  
 themselves there; and, as the Duke *de la Valette* made  
 some difficulty at it, he told him, He would give the  
 Execution of it to the Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*. The  
 Duke would rather attempt it himself, although he  
 came not to this conclusion till after a great deal of he-  
 sitation, since he alter'd his opinion two or three times.  
 Having at last got his Men to Mount the Breach, he  
 found that the Enemy had made a Retrenchment there,  
 and a Pallisado; and as those that were there demand-  
 ed a Re-inforcement, and Instruments to make a Lodg-  
 ment in that place, he sent them Orders to come back,  
 not thinking them able to maintain this Post, or as others  
 believe, out of Jealousie to the Prince of *Conde*, to make  
 him miscarry before this place.

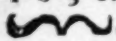
† Ch. Per-  
 nard, *Vie de*  
*Louis XIII.*  
*Liv. 19.*

Upon this the Prince being provoked, gave the Duke  
*de la Valette's* Attack to the Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*,  
 who offer'd to finish the Lodgment, and make himself  
 Master of the Place in three days, if the Duke would  
 quit his quarter. As the Arch-bishop was putting himself  
 in a readiness to give a new Assault at this place, and had  
 order'd the Troops which he commanded to disembark,  
 they receiv'd advice, that the *Spanish* Forces advanced  
 nearer than they us'd to doe, which made them deferre  
 the Attack.

The Admiral of *Castile* had onely Fifteen thousand  
 Foot, and a Thousand Horse, the greatest part of which  
 were the Militia-Troops, that had no experience in War;  
 and the Prince of *Conde* had above Twenty thousand  
 well-disciplin'd Men. However, the *Spaniards* seeing  
 the place reduced to the last extremity, were resolv'd to  
 attempt the Relief of it. \* Accordingly they Marched  
 by broad-day-light to Attack the Lines of the *French*.  
 The advanced-Guards were beaten back at the first On-  
 set; and as they retired within the nearest Redoubts, by  
 leaping over the Ditch, the *Spanish* Troops follow'd

\* The 7th of  
 Sept. Sir  
 Mem. Rec.  
 T. 8 p. 635.

1638.


 them the same way. The Quarter belonging to the Marquis *de la Force*, which they attack'd the first, was immediately carried; and the *Spaniards* that first entred it turning the Canon against the *French*, who fled in so great a disorder, that the Marquis was not able, by all the Arguments he could use, to make them rally. In the mean time the Officers, who still kept their ground, sent for the Prince's Order, to know whether they should retire, or Charge the Enemy; but he beholding the Confusion, despaired of being able to retrieve it; so he Embarked in a good time in a Vessel, which carried him to *St. John de Luz*. They sent to find the Duke *de la Valette* in his Quarter, but, before this happen'd, he had resign'd his Post to the Arch-bishop, by the Prince's Order, and was a League from thence. As for the Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*, he Shipt his Men, and likewise retired. In the mean time the Duke *de la Valette* being informed by some Fugitives, That the Enemy had forced the Lines, and that all was in disorder; ran to his Quarter to endeavour to rally as many of his Men as he was able, or at least to give them Orders to make their Retreat in the most advantageous manner they could. But the General having disappear'd, as well as the Naval Forces, the rest retired in confusion, leaving all their Baggage, Artillery, and Ammunition behind them. The *Spaniards*, chiefly employ'd in Pillaging the Camp, did not pursue them; so that the *French* lost but very few Men in the retreat. Thus the Prince of *Conde*, who, in these matters, could neither give nor follow good Advice, was defeated by an Army, which was, in all Respects, inferiour to his own. To excuse himself, he laid the fault upon the Duke *de la Valette*, as if he had been the occasion why this Place was not taken in the space of Two months, which before another General could not have held out Fifteen days, considering the condition it was in. The Cardinal, who durst not fall out with the Prince, but was incens'd, to the utmost degree, to see a design, of his own projecting, mis-carry, like those of the Count-Duke against *France*, resolv'd to ruine the Duke *de la Valette*, notwithstanding the great Friendship that was between him and the Cardinal his Brother, who durst not undertake to defend him, unless he was found innocent.

innocent. As for the Accusation of Cowardice, which some laid to his charge, he boldly maintain'd, that it was false; but he durst not wholly excuse him from jealousy. In the mean time the D. de la Valette retired into *England*, altho' he was sent for to Court. The Cardinal his Brother had a meanness of Soul so directly opposite to the Matchless bravery of the D. of *Espernon* their Father, that this Gallant Old Man was us'd to call him, not the *Cardinal de la Valette*; but, *the Valet of a Cardinal*. But the Cardinal-Duke would entertain none for his Friends, but such as were blindly devoted to all his Passions.

A little before this Miscarriage, \* the Cardinal-Duke receiv'd advice, That Fifteen *Spanish* Gallies, Commanded by *Don Rodrigo de Velasco*, were beaten by the *Marquis de Pont-Courlas*, General of the *French* Gallies, who had with him the same number. After an obstinate dispute, which lasted some hours, in the sight of *Genova*, the *Spaniards* lost Six Gallies, and the *French* Three, and then they retired in sufficient disorder on both sides.

At the Spring of this year Queen *Ann* of *Austria* perceived, that she was big with Child, after she had been now Married Two and twenty years, which occasioned extraordinary Rejoycing at Court. In the mean time the Cardinal having discover'd, that this Princess maintain'd a Correspondence, by way of Letters, with the Cardinal-Infanta her Brother, treated her, after a manner, that was enough to doe her a great deal of Mischief; so little did he regard what the World said of him. This correspondence was onely concerning a Peace, which the Queen had reason to consider as a Work extremely pleasing to God, and very advantageous to the People, who were drained and oppress'd on all sides. Great Provinces were wholly depopulated, without any considerable advantages obtained, either on this, or t'other part, merely to satisfy the ambitious pretensions of the *Swedes*, or of the Cardinal, against the House of *Austria*. The manner of their keeping this private Commerce, was as follows. The Cardinal Infanta's Letters were delivered to a certain Nun of *Val de Grace*, who hid them in the Closet of an Oratory which the Queen had in that Convent, and whither she frequently went. The Queen likewise left her own in the same place, and this Nun

\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8. p.  
660.



1638. took care to fetch, and give them to one *la Porte*, who sent them to *Brussels*. The Cardinal, who had more persons to spy, even the least Actions of the King and Queen, than those were to watch his own, came to be acquainted with it; and, as he looked upon a Peace, as a thing that would prove fatal to his Grandeur, he resolved to break off this Correspondence, whatever it cost him. He had effectually possessed the King with deep prejudices against the Queen, ever since she engaged her Self in Cabals opposite to his Authority, as I have elsewhere observed. So it was no difficult matter for him to make His Majesty believe, how dangerous it was to suffer the Queen to Write to a Declared Enemy of the State. Having therefore order'd *la Porte* to be apprehended, he was minded to Interrogate him himself, to effect which, he repair'd to *Chavigny's* Apartment, and threw himself upon his Bed; after he had order'd the Curtains to be drawn, that so he might discourse him without being seen. Then *la Porte* was order'd to come into the Room, and the Cardinal began to question him in a Counterfeit-Voice. But this new manner of examining a Prisoner did not succeed as he imagin'd, for *la Porte* knew his Voice immediately, and stood upon his Guard. Upon this he order'd the Chancellor to go to *Val de Grace* to the Queen's Oratory, and there to seize the Letters of Her Majesty, and the Cardinal-Infanta. The Chancellor, however he was intirely devoted to him, yet, apprehensive of what might hereafter happen to him from the Queen's part, was for finding out a way to obey the Cardinal, without offending the Queen too much, and therefore gave her private Intimation of the Command he had received. This Princess having no body about her to Consult in this strange Conjunction, sent the Marchioness *de Sennecey* to the Marquis *de Puyseux*, who, ever since his Disgrace, had lived at his Country-House, to demand his Advice upon this occasion. He was somewhat troubled that the Queen should Consult him upon so nice an affair as this was, knowing the implacable humour of this Minister; but, at last, he could not refuse to tell Her his Sentiments of the Matter.

One day, when the Queen was at *Val de Grace*, the Chancellor came there, and acquainted Her with the  
Commisli-

Commission which the King had given him. He afterwards asked Her some Questions, but so, as to Insinuate to Her Majesty, what Answers she was to make him. And the Queen pointed with her Finger to the place where she used to keep the Cardinal-Infanta's Letters, and gave him the Keys of it. She told him, That as for what related to the Prince her Brother, she could never stifle the affection which Nature obliged her to show him, but that she knew how to love her Brother, without prejudicing the State; a Maxim directly contrary to that of the Cardinal-Duke, who had possessed the King, That it was impossible for him to love His Subjects, and his Mother, with his other nearest Relations, at the same time. The Queen had taken the Precaution to trust all her Papers with the Marchioness *de Sourdis*, Daughter to the Count *de Carmail*; So that the Chancellor found nothing in the Closet but a few Disciplines.

From hence he return'd to carry this News to the Cardinal, who was enraged to miss his Blow, after he had put an Affront of this nature upon the Queen. It fell out very luckily for this Princess that she was big with Child, otherwise he had too cruelly offended her, not to use all his Efforts to ruin her; and he had formerly spoken to the King more than once, to be divorced from her. At the same time another Accident happen'd at Court, which was not indeed of the same consequence, but serves as well to discover the prodigious Authority of the Minister. The King had fallen in love with *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, and had for some time entertain'd a Commerce with her, which was by no means pleasing to the Cardinal, who cou'd not endure to see any one in favour with the King that did not wholly depend upon him. It happen'd without the King's knowing the occasion of it, that this Lady retired to a Convent call'd *La Visitation*, to put her self in the Service, as she pretended, of a greater Lord than he was. The King was extremely inquisitive to know the reason of so sudden a Retirement; and not contenting himself with what the Cardinal's Creatures had been instructed to tell him, he resolv'd to discover the whole Mystery himself: so pretending to hunt in the Forests which lye between *Gresbois* and this Monastery, he came to this last place, where he had

1 6 3 8. a long Conversation with *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*: and thus they came to be satisfied that they had been both cheated by *Boixenval*, Valet de Chambre to his Majesty, who nevertheless ow'd his preferment to this Lady. Whenever the King sent him to *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, to deliver any Message to her, or carry her a Biller, and whenever this Lady sent him back to the King, or writ to him, he went directly to the Cardinal, who caused the Billets to be chang'd, as he saw convenient, by counterfeiting the Hand, or else order'd him what Answers to make. This imperious Minister had engaged him thus to sacrifice the King and his Benefactress, by sending him word, that since he was made Valet de Chambre without a Recommendation from him, he must not expect to enjoy that Post long. *Boixenval* affrighted at this Menace, which he did not question but the Cardinal wou'd soon put in execution, went to acquaint him, that if he wou'd be pleased to take him into his Protection, he wou'd blindly obey him in whatever he shou'd think fit to order. The Cardinal promis'd it, upon condition he wou'd inform him of every thing he saw: And thus *Boixenval* communicated to him the King's Billets, and those of his Mistress, which he alter'd in such a manner as was most proper to inspire them with a disgust each for the other. At the same time the Cardinal threaten'd the Marchioness de *Semcey*, and the Bishop of *Limoges*, who were related to *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, to banish them the Court, unless they prevailed with this Lady to betake her self to a Retirement. Their Advice, and the Letters she received from the King, oblig'd her at last to think of a Recluse Life; and she accordingly put this Design in execution, as it has been already said. The King being inform'd that she had received some Billets which were wholly different from those which he had writ to her, was sensible that *Boixenval* had betray'd him, and resolv'd to turn him out of his place. While he was in the Parler with *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, *Boixenval*, who had follow'd him, was at the Gate, and came to understand, as soon as ever the King was gone, that His Majesty and She had been talking of the Cheat he had put upon them. By this he concluded himself to be undone, and next morning he was discarded; yet the

the Cardinal did not condescend to speak one word in 1638  
favour of him to the King, lest he should thereby disco-  
ver from what Quarter the Cheat proceeded.

The King had spent four hours in entertaining himself with Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*; so that it being too late for him to go back and lie at *Grosbois*, he went to *Paris*, and the Queen \* that very night was deliver'd of a Son, afterwards *Louis XIV.*, who was born on the same day that the Cardinal-Duke was, and has to their cost convinced all *Europe*, how terrible a figure a Monarch makes that can govern by himself. This Birth ruin'd in a manner all the Cabals of the *Grandeess*, which were in a good measure founded upon the Expectations they had that the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd succeed to the Crown. In all probability too, it seem'd to threaten the Cardinal's Authority, who had for a considerable time drawn the Queen's Hatred upon himself; but he was so strongly possess'd of the entire Management of the King's Will, that this did not cause the least Alteration in his Power.

The † same Year the Queen-Mother pass'd over into *Holland*, where she was received with all imaginable respect; and from thence into *England*, to engage King *Charles I.* her Son-in-law, and the Queen her Daughter, to make new Efforts in her behalf, that she might be suffer'd to return to *France*. *Belléve* was at that time Ambassador in *England*, and the Queen-Mother having found an opportunity to converse with him, although he studiously endeavour'd to avoid it, she acquainted him, that she had for some time employ'd all the means imaginable to signify to Cardinal *Richlieu* the extraordinary desire she had to return into *France* through his means; but that she had received no manner of Answer from him, and that no Promises had been ever made her, but upon such hard Conditions that she could not comply with them. The Ambassador interrupted her, and desired her Majesty to remember, that the King had sent him in the Character of Ambassador to the King of *England*, but that he had not the Honour to be sent to her. He added, that if her Discourse tended to command him to write about her to *France*, he desired her not to charge him with that Commission, because he had no Order to meddle with any thing, whatever it was, that concern'd

\* The 5th of  
September.

† *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 8.*  
P. 639.

her

1638. her Majesty. The Queen replied, that then they had not forbidden him to do it; and the Ambassadour made Answer, That he had no Orders. To this the Queen rejoyn'd, That it signified nothing at all; and, that she requested him to listen to her; That the Afflictions she had sustained since her Departure out of *France* had inspired her with quite different Sentiments from what she had when she quitted that Kingdom; That she should think her self infinitely obliged if he would acquaint the Cardinal, that she conjur'd him to deliver her out of this Misery, and the necessity of begging her Bread; That she long'd exceedingly to be near the King, not to concern her self in the least with any Affairs, but to pass the Remainder of her Life in Repose and Tranquillity, and employ it in serving of God, and thinking how to die well; That if the Cardinal cou'd not obtain leave of the King for her to return to Court, he wou'd at least get permission for her to live in some part of *France*, where His Majesty thought convenient, and there to provide for her Maintenance; That she wou'd turn away all such out of her Service that were either hated or suspected by him; and, That she was ready to do all that the King order'd and the Cardinal counsell'd her to do; That this was all she desir'd him to communicate to the Cardinal, because she believed that some Persons who had undertaken to do it, had not acquitted themselves faithfully in this Affair. The Ambassadour answer'd, that he wou'd never give her the same occasion to complain of him, because he would not concern himself in her Business. Upon this the Queen told him, that this was the Stile of all Ambassadours, who nevertheless were obliged to write all that was said to them; and that she wou'd not fail to expect his Answer. The Queen of *England* afterwards gave *Bellévue* to understand, that they had pitch'd upon this way, because the King had declared that he wou'd not have any Strangers interpose to accommodate Matters between him and his Mother. The Ambassadour still continued to say as before, that he had no Authority to concern himself in this Affair; but for all that, \* writ to the Cardinal, to inform him what the Queen-Mother had said to him.

\* By a Letter  
dated the 25.  
of December.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

THE



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# THE HISTORY

Of the FAMOUS  
Cardinal *de* RICHLIEU.

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VOL. II. BOOK VI.

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*Containing the most Remarkable Passages of his  
Life, from the Year 1639. till his Death.*

**T**HE Cardinal having received *Bellièvre's* Letters, was no more mov'd with pity towards his old Benefactress, than by the other Steps she had formerly made to reconcile her self to him. \* The natural Inclination that Women have to Revenge, the Humour of the Queen-Mother in particular, who dissembled her Indignation

1639.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 642.

1639. nation so much the more as she appeared to humble herself before the Minister, and who if she were in *France*, wou'd not fail to discover to the King all that he conceal'd from him; and lastly, the implacable Malice of the Cardinal himself, who seldom quitted what had once fully possess'd him, determin'd him to reject all Offers which this afflicted Princess caused to be made to him; and as for the King, he had not of a long while thought fit to deliberate upon any thing which he saw was not approved by this Minister. Thus the Cardinal having dictated a Letter, in the King's Name, to *Cheré* his Secretary, his Majesty signed it. He pretended that before he had read an Extract of *Bellévre's* Dispatches, concerning the Propositions which the Queen-Mother had made to him, he had told the Council of his own proper motion, that he believed there was no longer room to rely upon the fair Words of the Queen his Mother, who had always been accustomed to dissemble; that her unquiet Temper hinder'd her from being able to live peaceably in any place, since she cou'd never bear her Prosperity when she was in *France*, nor agree in *Flanders* with the Duke of *Orleans*, after she had obliged him to leave the Kingdom to go thither, no more than with the Princess to whom she had married him; that it was not without some Design that she went to *Holland*, and that she was already disgusted with *England*; that if she was not able to content her self with the extraordinary Authority which she enjoyed before her Departure out of *France*, much less wou'd she rest satisfied with what they cou'd give her at present, and which wou'd be nothing near so great as what she formerly had; that considering her aspiring Humour, she wou'd be no sooner in *France*, but she wou'd oblige the Malecontents to occasion new Disorders, and that the more easily, because the greatest part of them had been formerly engaged in her Interests; that the *Spaniards*, who had despised her in their own Country, wou'd not fail to influence her to excite Commotions in *France* as soon as she was arrived there, and that merely for this Consideration they desired her Return; that within 7 or 8 Months she had endeavour'd to form a new Party at *Sedan*, with the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count

Count *de Soissons*, though she cou'd draw nothing but bare Words from them; that the King of *England* having in vain interceded for her, design'd to send her elsewhere; that all these Reasons obliged him to stick firm to the Proposal he had made to the Queen his Mother that she shou'd retire to *Florence*, where she should receive what was sufficient to maintain her according to her Quality; that lastly, his Conscience was satisfied, and that he shou'd be justified before God and before Men, since he had done all that in him lay, to satisfy the Queen, without exposing his Kingdom to new Broils and Troubles.

Upon this Answer, which was wholly founded upon this Supposition, That the Queen-Mother wou'd embroil the Kingdom, in case she came back, as if they had been certainly assur'd of it, and that there was no way to hinder it, but by sending her home to *Florence*; the Queen of *England*, touch'd for her Mothers Affliction, writ several Letters to the King and Cardinal with her own Hand, and sent them by my Lord *Fermyn* to confirm them by Word of Mouth. The King answered these Letters by others, which *Chavigny* compos'd and were corrected by the Cardinal, wherein he commends the good intentions of his Sister, but desired her not to interpose in this Affair; that he intended on his Side to give his Mother all reasonable Satisfaction, but that she had engag'd her Self in so many Cabals against him, that he cou'd come to no other Resolution about her, till a Peace was concluded; that as for the Maintenance they demanded for her, he was afraid she was abused by her own Evil Councillors, as if there was no Medium between granting her all, and refusing his Mother a Dowry, which lawfully belonged to her, and yet *Lewis the Just* refus'd it her.

Thus my Lord *Fermyn's* Negotiation came to nothing, and though he offer'd in the Name of the King and Queen of *England*, to ingage for the good Conduct of the Queen-Mother, and promised every thing which cou'd in reason be expected, yet they would talk of nothing less than sending this unfortunate Princess to *Florence*, where they promised to settle an Appointment upon

1 6 3 9. on her, which perhaps they wou'd have stopt afterwards. No one durst speak a word to the King upon this occasion, and the good Prince could not bethink himself of any middle Expedient, between treating his Mother with this excessive Rigour, only to please the Cardinal, and restoring her to her first Authority. He cou'd without jealousy, behold his chief Minister assume a Power infinitely greater than the Queen-Mother had ever pretended to; and abuse it in a more notorious manner, and yet it never disturbed him; but the Cardinal had gain'd that absolute Ascendant over him, and had so far possess'd him, that without him, both he and his Kingdom wou'd be intirely ruin'd, and that none but he had honest intentions towards him, that he perceived nothing of the Cardinal's Designs.

However to secure himself in some measure from the Inhumanity which the World wou'd be apt to charge him with, in refusing to let the Queen-Mother return, since she desir'd it with so much Submission, he wou'd not declare his own Opinion in the Council upon this Affair: But he engag'd the other Ministers to give their Sentiments in Writing, which he drew up for them himself, and they afterwards sign'd. They are still to be seen in the Memoirs of \* *Montresor*, and they take two things for granted; first that it was impossible for the Queen-Mother to come back without embroiling the Kingdom, and that there was no other way to preserve it in Tranquility, but by suffering her to want even Necessaries out of *France*, unless she wou'd go to *Tuscany*. Secondly, that as Princes are design'd more for their State than for themselves, so they are also more nearly related to that, than to their Father or Mother, and are not obliged to show them any marks of the respect they owe them, but as far as they agree with a more publick and noble Duty. According to these Slaves of the Cardinal, *France* wou'd be undone, if the King made any Provision for his Mother, and this Action of the King resembled the Separation of *Jesus Christ* from the *Virgin-Mary*. They gave this Advice to his Majesty; in the Month of *March*, and their Names that sign'd are as follow; *Le-guier. Bullion, Bouthillier, Chavigny and Sabler.*

Judges

At the same time, the Cardinal-Duke order'd a Process against the Duke *de la Valette*, who had been received very honourably in *England*. \* According to the usual Forms, it belonged to the Parliament of *Paris* to judge of it, but according to a custom establish'd by this Minister, the King nominated some Commissioners of Parliament and of the Privy-Council, although the Parliament had remonstrated to him, that it was an Infracti<sup>o</sup>n of their Privileges, and that these Causes belonged to them. The Duke *de la Valette* was accused of Cowardice and Treason; besides that, he had left *France* without Permission, which he cou'd not do, as being Colonel-General of the *French* Infantry, Governour of *Guienne*, and Duke and Peer of *France*. The King order'd the Judges to come before him at *St. Germain*, and commanding them to give their Opinions, the chief President humbly begg'd of his Majesty to dispense with him from giving his Opinion in that place, being obliged to give it in Parliament if the King wou'd be pleased to send back the Cause to be there tried, conformable to the Laws, as he was going to prove. But the King took him up short, and told him, That the Councillors of Parliament started difficulties of their own making, and had a mind to keep him in Tutelage; but he wou'd have them know that he was their Master. He add'd That it was a great mistake to say, that he cou'd not order a process against a Peer of *France* after what Manner he saw most convenient, and forbade them to speak of it. The \* *Rapporteurs de la Posterie*, and *Macbaut* concluded after a long reasoning, that his Body was to be apprehended, and then the King spoke to the rest to give their Opinion. *Pinon* began his Harangue with observing that in all the Fifty Years he had been a Councillour of Parliament, he never remembred a thing of so vast an importance to have come before them; that he consider'd the Duke *de la Valette*, as a Person that had the Honour to be married to the King's Natural Sister, and as a Duke and a Peer, and that therefore his Judgment was, That this Cause ought to be brought before the Parliament. The King told him that this was not giving his Opinion, and that he did not take it as

6 3 9.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Reg. T. 2.*  
 p. 781.

\* So they call those Judges in *France*, that make a Report of the Case to the Parliament.



1639. such. But *Pinon* answer'd, That in the Order of Justice, a Reference was a lawful Vote. The King reply'd in great Anger, That he wou'd have them give their opinion of the Merits of the Cause; and *Pinon* made answer, That since his Majesty commanded him, he was of the same Opinion with the former. The Presidents *Nesmond* and *Leguier* said the same thing, seeing the King positively bent to have it so. The President *de Bailléal*, who had heard at his coming into the Hall, that the Cardinal shou'd say, That the King wou'd make the Duke *de la Valette* taste of his Mercy once more, said that he approved of the Overture which the Cardinal had made; but the latter reply'd, That he needed only to cover himself with his Robe to give his Opinion: so he was constrain'd by the King's Command, to do as those before him had done. The President *de Meme*; thought of his Bonnet without saying a Word. The President *de Novion*, after a long Discourse, wherein he remark'd that no mention was made, neither of the Name, nor Age of the Witnesses that swore against the Duke, and that the process was against the usual Forms, as the King himself confess'd, declar'd, that he thought the Duke ought personally to appear; and besides that, he cou'd not in Conscience give his Opinion in the place where he was. He added, that if the King constrain'd him, he wou'd be of the most favourable Side, because he wou'd not load his Conscience. The President *de Bellièvre* rising up, said, That in his Judgment, this cause ought to be sent back to the Parliament, but as the King obliged him to pass his Judgment upon the equity of the matter, he made a short but handsom Discourse, the substance of which was, That he thought it was extremely strange, that his Majesty shou'd interpose in the Trial of one of his Subjects; that his Ancestors were accustomed to reserve their Graces to themselves, and to remit Condemnations to the Tribunals of Justice; that he did not believe that his Majesty had rigour enough in him to see a Man upon a Sledge to be dragg'd the next Hour after to a Gibbet; that the sight of a King carried Acts of Clemency along with it; that it took off Ecclesiastical Interdicts, and that no one ought to depart from his Presence

sence dissatisfied. He afterwards took notice how inconvenient it was for them to deliver their Opinions before the King, since they were not at liberty to speak their Thoughts freely. The King, after he had heard him with a great deal of Patience, commanded him to speak positively to the matter in Hand. *Belléve* made answer, That these were his Sentiments: but the Chancellor still pressing him to give his Opinion; he said, That it was time lost to speak, if he must say nothing but what the Chancellor approv'd of, and so stuck still to his first Judgment. The *Premier President* continued to insist upon a Reference, but at last gave his Opinion, that the Duke's Body was to be seized.

After the Presidents had done, the Councillors declared their Sentiments; and it was remarkable enough, that *le Bret* alledged the Custom of the *Persians* and *Turks*, and *Leon Bralart* the most violent Proceedings of *Germany*, to serve as a Rule upon this Occasion. After this, the Dukes and Peers spoke, and were follow'd by the Chancellor, by the Cardinal, and by the King. At last the Court rose, and the King calling the Presidents to him, told them in a great Passion, that they always made it their Business to disobey his Orders, that he was extremely ill satisfied with their Conduct, and that he hated all those that were against his Trying a Duke and Peer out of Parliament; that they were sorry, ignorant Wretches, unworthy of Places, and that for all he knew, he might put others in their room; that he was resolv'd to be obey'd, and that he wou'd make them see, that all their Privileges were only founded upon an illegal Usage; and lastly, that he wou'd hear them argue no more about the Matter. Thus the blindest of all Kings, with whom the Arbitrary Courses of his Minister pass'd for Law and Policy, violated all the Ordinances, as if there had been no such thing as Justice in *France* before the Cardinal-Duke sat at the Helm, and that all the ancient Customs ow'd their Original to Madmen and Fools. It was too dangerous a point to endeavour to make him sensible of his Error, not only by reason of the vast Authority of the Minister, but his own natural *Opinietete*, which was as great, as his Knowledge and Insight

1639. into Things was small. Thus he cou'd never have been brought to comprehend what might have been said to him concerning the beginning of Laws, and the great Advantage which Princes as well as their Subjects find in seeing them carefully observ'd.

In consequence of the Result of this Assembly, the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd by an Arrest of the \* Council of State to be sent to the Bastile to answer the Crimes he was accused of; or to be adjourned to appear at Sound of Trumpet, at a certain time, and his Goods in the interim to be sequestred. Afterwards they examined the Testimony of fifty, as well Officers as Soldiers, whom they thought most proper to make him seem guilty. Their Depositions were read in full Council, and the † Attorney-General concluded that the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd to have his Head cut off, and his Goods confiscated for the Crimes of Cowardice and Treason. The Presidents, who saw it was to no purpose to make any Opposition, approved of all these Conclusions, except *Bellèvre*, who said it was a hundred Years ago since *Francis I.* had made an Order, by which he ordain'd, that in Civil Matters, the Plaintiff shou'd not come to a conclusion, under a pretence of Contumacy, unless he cou'd justify his Demand; and that it was much more just to follow this method in Criminal Matters, where the Honour and Life of the King's Subjects lay at stake: That those that were attainted of Contumacy, were not always guilty at bottom: That the Duke *de la Valette* was accused of Treason, and Disobedience to his General: That in relation to the Treason, it was hard to imagine that a *French* Gentleman, and one that had so many Obligations to the King, cou'd be guilty of so base a Thought: That he had remark'd no proof of it in the Process, and that the Attorney-General seem'd to be of the same Opinion, since he had not pronounced the usual Sentence of Traitors, which was, to demolish their Houses, to cut down their Woods, and to declare their Posterity degraded from their Nobility: That if the Duke *de la Valette* had enertain'd any private Intelligences with the Enemy, he wou'd never have discover'd it to a parcel of Scoundrels, since this was the most effectual way

to ruin his Designs: That none of these Witnesses had deposed, that he sent any Letters to the Enemy, or received any from them, or kept any Correspondence with them, or their Adherents: That consequently he judged him innocent in respect of this Allegation: That as for his Disobedience to his General, this was a point purely military, the Cognizance whereof belonged to Gentlemen of that Profession; and that if the Duke were present, he might perhaps demonstrate the contrary: That as to this Article, the Witnesses deposed no more than that the Breach was reasonable; and that if an Assault had been made immediately, in all appearance the Place had been taken: That it was a Matter of dangerous consequence to submit the Honour and Life of a General to the Judgment of thirty Soldiers: That nevertheless tho' there was not any direct proof of these two Capital Points, of which the Duke *de la Valette* was accused, to condemn him to die; yet he thought him to be so great a Criminal for leaving the Kingdom, and not appearing to justify himself, even though he were in person, that he was of opinion that he deserved to be banished for nine Years, to be turn'd out of his Places, and to pay a Fine of a hundred thousand Crowns.

Upon this the Chancellour replied, That from whatever Principle it was that the Duke *de la Valette* had made the King lose the Opportunity of Taking *Fontarabia*, and disobey'd his General, this Action was of such mighty prejudice to the State, that he was satisfied the Attorney-General's Sentence was just. The King throwing his Hat upon the Table, began to tell them, that having not been bred up in the Parliament, he cou'd not deliver his Opinion so well as they cou'd: That however, to express himself after his own manner, the Debate was not here of the Cowardice or Ill-sufficiency of the Duke *de la Valette*, since he was satisfied he wanted neither Bravery nor Courage, but that he had purposely and designedly lost *Fontarabia*. After he had added a few Words of his ill Designs, which he had discover'd upon other Occasions as well as this, he concluded after the same rate as the Attorney-General had done. At last the Court broke up, without any other

Forma-

1 6 3 9. Formality, and the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd by the whole Assembly, except *Bellièvre*. ‡ The Council of State pronounced the Arrest, which declared the Duke to be found guilty of High Treason, for having basely and perfidiously abandon'd the King's Service at the Siege of *Fontarabia*; and of Felony, for departing out of the Kingdom contrary to his Majesty's Orders, and for this condemn'd to have his Head struck off at the *Grève* if he were taken, or in Effigy if they could not Apprehend him; to lose all his Offices, and to have his Goods confiscated.

‡ The Duke de la Valette was re-established in his Estate and Honour by the Parliament of Paris, after the Death of the Cardinal-Duke.

This was a thing without president till now, that a King of France should, as a Judge, Condemn a Gentleman, sitting at the upper end of a Table, about which the Judges were placed, What does still deserve to be remarked, is that in the Choice of these Judges, no new Commission was dispatched, that some of them were justly to be excepted against, that most of them had never served as Judges before; that they observed no Formalities; that they violated the Privileges of Dukes and Peers; that an Arrest was issued out by the Counsel of State, who had no Cognisance of the matter of Fact, and who don't use to concern themselves in such Affairs. Thus the King, who never did a good thing, but with the greatest difficulty imaginable; nay, who often suffer'd the Cardinal to undoe it, when he had pass'd his Promise to reward any one, suffer'd himself, without the least reluctance, to doe a Crying, Illegal, Unpresidented Piece of Injustice, to destroy a poor Nobleman, who had behaved himself extreamly well upon several occasions, and whose Father had served the Crown above 60 years. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, like a true trusty Slave as he was to the Cardinal-Duke, Writ a Letter to him in the very Interval, when he was employing all his Power to ruine his Brother; wherein he assured him, \* *That since Monsieur de la Valette continued to live after such a manner, as could by no means be agreeable to him, he was obliged to tell him, that for his failure in his Duty, he (the Cardinal de la Valette) would be the first against him.* For, 'tis certain, adds he, *that I should be the most ungrateful Man in the World, if I should not prefer your service, not onely to his Interests,*

\* See a Letter of the Cardinal de la Valette, dated the 17th of January, in the Collection which is at the end of the Minut. of the Cardinals.



terests, but even to my own. These mighty Obligations were, that he had not ruin'd him as well as his Brother, and that he had given him a Command in the Army, tho' he was as unfit to make a General, as he was to Govern his Bishoprick in good order. In the mean time the D. of *Espernon* had Orders, to retire to his House at *Prasfac*, and was deprived of his Government, and all his Pensions. This good old Man had yet another Misfortune, which beset him at the beginning of this year, and that was the death of the D. of *Candalle*, his eldest Son, who died at *Casal*. 1639.

The Cardinal-Duke had sustain'd a very considerable Loss some time before, in the death of Father \* *Joseph du Tremblay* his Confident, who died at the beginning of this Year. This Capuchin, whose Character I have drawn in another place, was a mighty Assistant to the Cardinal, whose Designs and Maxims he so perfectly well understood, that he acted upon them without Order, as if he had been the Minister himself. For this reason he discharg'd the greatest part of the Foreign Affairs upon his Shoulders. \* See a Letter of Condolence from the Cardinal de la Vallette, dated the 11th of January.

Father *Monod* having ever since the beginning of the Year been sent to *Montmelian*, as I have already observed, the Dutches of *Savoy*, in Answer to some Advice which the Cardinal had given her a few Weeks before, writ a † Letter to him, wherein she tells him, that she had never been in so profound a Lethargy, as not to know what she owed to his Merits, and to the great desire she had of finding any occasion to oblige him: She there speaks of the Marks she had always given of her unwearied Zeal for the Service of the King her Brother, and adds how severe a Mortification it was to her, that the bare Consideration of Father *Monod* shou'd hinder the good Correspondence which she promis'd her self to find from his Majesty. In the Close she demands timely Assistance, that so she might be in a posture to defend her self against her Enemies the next Campaign, promising her Friendship to the Cardinal-Duke, and desiring his for her self. † Dated the 4th of January, in the Collection added to the Ministry of the Card. 97.

The Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas* who was arrived out of *Flanders* in *Italy*, prepared to enter *Piedmont*

1639. *Piedmont* with a powerful Army with all imaginable speed, and the *Piedmontois* expected them with great impatience; the People much rather loving to be Commanded by those that were related to their own Princes, than by Foreigners. Nevertheless they endeavour'd at first to enter into some Accommodation with their Sister-in-Law, and to obtain of her, that they might come in safety to *Piedmont*: but as she had all the reason in the World, on her side, to suspect that their design of coming to *Turin*, was, in order to make themselves Masters of the Place, she would never consent to it; and importun'd the Cardinal, by frequent Letters, to send her a timely and powerful relief. She Writ likewise to the King, but apply'd her self to the Minister in such a strain, that it plainly appear'd, she repos'd little confidence in the languishing Friendship of her Brother, if the \*Cardinal did not recommend her condition to him with all his address. She presses him all along after such a manner, as supposes he had a greater hand in disposing the Forces of the Kingdom, than the King himself.

\* See the above-mentioned Collection, p. 31, &c.

In the mean time Don *Martin* of *Arragon* parted from *Alexandria* with Seven or Eight thousand Men, and went to Attack the Fort of *Cengio*, where there was a French Garrison, which defended it self bravely. The Spanish General being killed before the place, Don *Antonio Sorello* succeeded him, and after he had repulsed the Succours which the Marquis *de Ville* wou'd have thrown into it, obliged it to surrender. On the other side, Prince *Thomas* marched in the \* Night to *Chivas*, a place Situate upon the *Po*, between *Turin* and *Crescentin*, and took it, which gave a Terrible alarm to the Dutchess, and to the French who were not as yet strong enough to take the Field. *Quiers*, *Montcalier* and *Fore* declared at the same time for Prince *Thomas*. After this he marched to \* *Verruc*, where the Governour did not acquit himself of his Duty; and the Castle being unprovided of several Necessaries, surrendered to the Prince, as well as the Town. *Crescentin* submitted soon after; and thus the Spaniards hinder'd the French from being able to send any Relief to *Casal* by the *Po*.

\* The 26<sup>th</sup> of March.  
Suz. Mem.  
Pec. T. 8.  
P. 627.

\* The 5<sup>th</sup> of April.

Cardinal

Cardinal *de la Valette* not being in a condition to oppose the progress of the Enemy, contented himself with preserving of *Turin*, hoping it would be no difficult matter for them to regain the rest, provided they could but keep that City in their possession. Thus either the Cardinal, or the Dutchess of *Savoy*, to destroy or preserve Father *Momod*, put the young Duke of *Savoy* in danger of being stript of his Territories. At the bottom, the true motive which engag'd *Victor Amadeus* and his Widow in this War against the *Spaniard*, was only to give their forces some diversion in *Italy*, for fear they should grow too strong in the *Low Countries*: and it must be acknowledg'd, that the Cardinal assisted them after a feeble manner. But in all probability he was not much concern'd to see the Daughters of *Mary de Medicie* out of a condition to make themselves be feared. He affected to mortify them upon every occasion, and had order'd *Emery* to reside as Ambassador at *Turin*, altho he was extremely disagreeable to the Dutchess, whom he sometimes treated with a great deal of pride and arrogance.

The Dutchess fearing to be besieged in *Turin*, thought of sending the Duke her Son, and her Daughters to some place of security, tho the Cardinal made some proposals to her to send them into *France*. But as she already depended but too much upon him, she concluded it would be her best way to send them to *Montmelian*, under the guard of *Don Felix* of *Savoy*, who was Governor of that place. Now to engage the Dutchess in some Treaty, Prince *Thomas*, and the Marquis *de Leganez* \* advanced within sight of *Turin*, and made themselves Masters of the *Bourg du Pan*, which those within were not able to maintain. The people of *Piedmont*, generally speaking, were so little affected to the Dutchess, that there had been a just occasion to be apprehensive for her, if the *French* Garrison had not been stronger than the *Burgers* of *Turin*. There were quartered in that City five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, by whole means the Cardinal *de la Valette* so bridled them, that they were not able to attempt any thing; and at the

1639. same time kept the Dutchess, who was affrighted to see her Enemies so near her, from making any Treaty, contrary to the interests of *France*. And thus after some few propositions, the design of which was to disengage this Princeess from assisting the *French*, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganéz* retired. The Prince took *Villeneuve d'Aspi*, and *Leganéz Moncalzo*, and afterwards *Pontesure*, which occasion'd a suspicion, that the *Spaniards* had a design upon *Casal*, but the Cardinal *de la Valette* recruited it in good time with all manner of necessary provisions.

In the mean time, the King resolv'd to send *Chavigny* into *Piedmont*, in quality of Ambassador extraordinary, to assure the Dutchess of her Brother's assistance, and withal to prevail with her to oppose the designs of the Princes of *Savoy*. *D'Emery* was but lately return'd to *France*, and 'twas design'd to send him back to *Piedmont*, as indeed they did: but as the Dutchess had taken an incurable dislike to his person, it was fear'd that all his endeavours wou'd fall to the ground. *Chavigny* had \* orders dexterously to insinuate to the Princeess, that there was only one way left to save herself, and that, in the Cardinal's opinion, was to send her Children into *France*, and to secure herself to effectually of all the principal places of her Country, that she might lye under no farther apprehensions of losing them. Now to secure these places for herself, she needed only to put *Frenchmen* into them, which she might do both with honour and safety, because the *Spaniards* had made a powerful Invasion in *Piedmont*; and the King promis'd to restore these places to her, whenever she pleased. *Chavigny* had instructions to support this advice with several other reasons, and to tell the Dutchess that if she follow'd it, the King her Brother would redouble his efforts to deliver her out of her present difficulties; but if she neglected it, his Majesty discharged himself before God and Man of the protection he otherwise design'd to give her, since it would be unserviceable. The places which the King demanded to have in *Piedmont*, were the Castles that secure the entrance or the Vallies, as *Cabours*, *Revel*, *Coni*, and some others like them.

*D'Emery*

\* See His  
Instructions  
in the Memoirs  
of Louis XIV.  
T. II. p.  
272.

*D' Emery* was likewise order'd to return from *Lyons* to *Piedmont*, to fortifie *Pignerol*, and make the same propositions to the Dutchess. Besides this, in case the Dutchess made a Treaty of Neutrality, or a Cessation of Arms with the *Spaniard*, he was commanded to confer with the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to see how one might seize those places which lay upon the road from *Pignerol* to *Casal*; and to effect this design in case it were feasible.

The Cardinal in the mean time, in all his Letters to the Dutchess, and to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, gave them to understand, that this Princess cou'd never truly reckon herself mistress of any place, where she had *Piedmontese* Governours, even tho the Garrison was *French*, because those Governors wou'd make the people rise up against the Garrisons. In this conjuncture the Dutchess sent to acquaint Prince *Thomas*, that if he did not surrender the places he had taken, she was resolved to throw up all which she had into the hands of the *French*, who already possessed *Carmagnole* and *Querasque*, and who wou'd soon be masters of *Turin*, if they had once the Cittadel. Soon after she began a Treaty with her Brothers-in-law, by which she agreed to divide the Guardianship with them, and to receive them into *Turin*; which had it gone on, would have infallibly subjected her to their power, and made her entirely depend upon them. The Ambassadors of *France* took a great deal of pains to make her comprehend, that she wou'd absolutely ruin herself, if she concluded this Treaty; But when they came to talk to her of putting the rest of her Towns into the hands of the King, who was only to keep them for her, till such time as she cou'd maintain them safely herself; then she cry'd out, that instead of assisting her, they design'd to plunder her of all she had, and wou'd not hear them mention the least syllable of it for several days. She was afraid that if these places were once out of her power and surrendered to them, they wou'd afterwards pay her just so much respect as they shou'd see convenient, and thus she might come to lose all her authority. But the Ministers of *France* having



1639. found means to gain her Councillors over to their party, by pensions which they promis'd them in the Kings name; and in particular, the Cardinal having corrupted the Abbot *de la Monta*, by resigning the Abby of *Nantes* to him; the Dutchess began to soften a little, and as she wanted ready money for her present support, there was a necessity for her at last, even of her self to come to the Cardinal's Lure. The \**SiriMem.* Treaty was signed the 1st of *June*, 1639. and the \**King* *Rec. T. 8* promis'd to restore her these places which she put into his hands, as also those which he happen'd to retake from the Enemy, as soon as she was in a condition to keep them for her self.

During this Negotiation, the Marquis *de Leganez* made himself Master of \**Trino*, and of † *Santia* in of *May*. *Montferrat*; the Army of the Cardinal *de la Valette* † The 14 not daring to quit *Turin*, while they doubted of the of *June*. good affections of the Dutchess. To make some amends for these losses, and the better to preserve *Turin*, the Cardinal *de la Valette* besieged *Chivas*, which he began to attack on the 17 of *June*. The Marquis *de Leganez* thought himself obliged to relieve it, and for that end advanced with his Forces, but he found the Lines of the *French* so strong, that he durst not attempt them. However he posted himself between *Chivas* and *Turin*, hoping to cut off all Provisions from the *French* Army; but the Duke of *Longueville* being arrived in *Piedmont* with a fresh Army, guarded a great Convoy to the Cardinal *de la Valette*'s Camp, which obliged the Marquis *de Leganez* to alter his measures. The place surrendred on the 29 of *June*, and the taking of it began somewhat to re-establish the Reputation of the *French* in *Italy*.

But shortly after the Emperor publish'd an Ordinance, by which he declared the Dutchess to have forfeited the Guardianship of her Children, absolved the Subjects of the House of *Savoy* from the Oaths of Fidelity they had taken to her, and commands them to own the young Duke's two Uncles for his lawful Guardians; upon which all *Piedmont* rose up against the Dutchess, except *Turin*, and those places where the *French* were strongest. The Cardinal having received

received this ill news, \* sent a long Memorial to D' E-<sup>1639</sup>  
*mery* and the Generals of the Army, wherein he told  
 them, ' That this insurrection of all the places in  
 ' *Piedmont* ought to convince the Dutcheis, that the  
 ' people were deeply prejudiced against her, and that  
 ' she could not rely upon them any longer : That if  
 ' the *French Troops* that were in *Turin*, and the  
 ' Neighbourhood of the King's Army did not awe the  
 ' Inhabitants of that City, they would do the same as  
 ' the rest have done, since in spite of her prohibiti-  
 ' ons they continued to form Assemblies, and resolu-  
 ' tions contrary to her Authority : That the only  
 ' Bond that ties people to their Sovereign is Fidelity,  
 ' and that it is not to be expected from these persons,  
 ' that think themselves absolved from their Oaths by  
 ' the Emperor's Declaration, and who are confirm'd  
 ' in this opinion by the Ecclesiastics : That this ought  
 ' to be represented in a vigorous manner to Madame  
 ' of *Savoy*, who was to be told, that the King would  
 ' be in extraordinary pain till he heard she had given  
 ' necessary orders for her own security : That for this  
 ' end she must disarm the Citizens of *Turin*, and ma-  
 ' nage her self with a great deal of prudence, for fear  
 ' she should hasten their Rebellion : that a report  
 ' might easily be spread about, that the Enemy ap-  
 ' proached near the City, while the Duke of *Longue-  
 ville* should be employed elsewhere, and so she take  
 ' that opportunity to bring the Cardinal de la Valette's  
 ' Forces into the Town, seize the most advantageous  
 ' posts, and disarm the Burghers : That Madame de  
 ' *Savoy* might turn out the *Piedmontese* Captains that  
 ' kept the Gates, and place some *French* in their  
 ' room, who were in her pay : That she might place  
 ' a faithful experienced Governor there, to turn out  
 ' the factious Spirits, and oblige the Superiors of Con-  
 ' vents to send their turbulent Religious elsewhere :  
 ' that besides this, she might buy up all the Arms,  
 ' and all the Powder that was made in *Turin*, and  
 ' bestow it in the Arsenal, or Cittadel : That since  
 ' the Dutcheis possess no more than *Turin*, *Avelliane*,  
 ' and *Susa*, she ought to take all imaginable care to  
 ' keep them in her hands : That it was necessary to

1639. put a trusty Garrison into the Castle of *Nice*, and not to trust the people of *Nice*, nor those of *Villa Franca*: That no suspected person should be suffered to be about the Duke, and even there to place *Savoyards* in the room of *Piedmonteses*: That also as the season would permit, care should be taken to make the Naval Army, commanded by the Count *d' Harcourt*, come before *Nice*; That they should make all convenient haste to disarm the inhabitants of those places that were to be kept in trust for the Dutchess.

Orders were dispatched to the Duke of *Longueville* to go and raise the Siege of *Coni*; and to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to march to *Carmagnole*; but as they were putting themselves in a readiness to execute these orders, they were oblig'd to change their design. Prince *Thomas* entered *Turin* at night on the 26th of *July*, by secret intelligence with some in the Town, and constrain'd the Dutchess and *French* that were there, to retire in disorder into the Cittadel. 'Twas to no purpose, that the Cannon of the Cittadel began to play upon the Town, for the Prince had thrown up good retrenchments on that side, and fill'd those Houses that lay most expos'd with Earth. However, he could not hinder the *French* from conducting the Dutchess to *Susa*, and putting a strong Garrison into the Cittadel of *Turin*, with all necessary provisions to hold out a long time. In the mean time, *Cassarelle* the Nuncio obtain'd a Cessation of Arms for two months, which was to begin from the 14th of *August*, and in the interim the King recall'd the Duke of *Longueville* to go and command in *Germany*, and left the conduct of all his Troops in *Italy* to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who had excellent Officers under him to supply the defects of his own incapacity.

The Dutchess writ to the Cardinal Duke with the greatest submission imaginable, because she saw he had foretold, what since happen'd to her; and the Cardinal *de la Valette* excus'd the Cessation of Arms which he had lately made, by alledging that the Cittadel of *Turin* was utterly unprovided of every thing, and that

that all the other places which the King held in *Piedmont*, except *Chivas*, were in so bad a condition, that it would be a difficult matter to keep them. Nevertheless if the Cardinal Duke disapproved of it, the Cardinal *de la Valette* consented that he should disown it, *provided he still preserv'd for him the honour of his good graces.* 1639.

Upon the news of this last insurrection of *Piedmont*, *Chavigny* who was upon his return to *Paris*, was sent back to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, to persuade her to put *Nice* and *Villa Franca* into his Majesty's hands. Some of the instructions he receiv'd were none of the most honourable for that Princess, whose conduct was extreamly blamed, because she seem'd to distrust the King's Ministers. In the mean time they receiv'd advice, that the Generals had concluded a Cessation of Arms with Prince *Thomas*, which made them change the Orders they had given to *Chavigny*. He was only commanded to inform the Dutcheſs, how much the King was concern'd to see her affairs in so bad a posture, and to tell her that his Majesty would come as far as *Lyons*, that so he might be nearer at hand to give necessary Orders for the defence of those places which still remain'd in her possession. She was likewise given to understand, that she ought to place a *French* Garrison and *French* Commanders in *Susa*, and in *Avellane*, and to provide these places with every thing that was necessary, otherwise she would run the hazard of losing all the rest. In this Interval the *French* and *Spanish* Generals had an interview at *Piedmont*, where the Marquis *de Leganez* spoke of a general Peace, and Prince *Thomas* of reconciling himself in particular with *France*, being weary to continue longer in the service of the *Spaniards*, of whom he imagined he had just occasion to complain. But this conference produced no effect at this time.

The Dutcheſs being desirous to discourse the King her Brother about her affairs, dispatch'd the Marquis *de St. Germain* to him, to know where he would be pleased she should meet him. *Grenoble* was the place appointed, and the Marquis had Orders to represent to the Dutcheſs how extreamly she prejudic'd her self,

1639. by expressing a distrust of the King her Brother's Ministers, and taking no care for the preservation of her State, and that there was no other expedient for her to defend herself against the enterprizes of her Brothers-in-law, but by throwing herself intirely upon his Majesty. The Cardinal principally desired, that the Dutchess would put the Castle of *Montmelian* into the King's hands, where Father *Monod* was; for which end it was propos'd to this Jesuit to leave it if he pleas'd, but he could not be prevail'd with to agree to it, fearing that he should be still in greater danger if he departed out of it, than if he continued there.

In the mean time Cardinal *Maurice* found means to gain the Governors of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*; and the fear of losing all influenced the Dutchess to put *Susa*, *Avelliane*, *Gelasse*, and *Taillon* into the King's power, but she would not hear the least mention of surrendering *Montmelian*. The King arrived with the Cardinal at *Grenoble*, whither the Dutchess likewise came, but before they enter'd into any Negotiation, the Cardinal told her what he thought would be most advantageous for herself, and the Duke her Son, and had some conversation with the principal Ministers of the Dutchess. He endeavour'd to persuade her to trust the King, at least in appearance, with the administration of *Savoy*, and to put the Duke her Son into his hands. The Dutchess could not bring herself to give her consent to it, for fear lest this apparent trust, as the Cardinal call'd it, should become but too real, if the King gained the Governor of *Montmelian*, or made himself Master of it any other way. It came to be discover'd that Count *Philip d' Aglie* advised the Dutchess to continue firm to this resolution, but whatever artifices they used, it was not possible for them to draw any thing more from the Princess, but that she would deliver two or three small places more to the King. And in truth, it was a strange thing that the King wou'd not vigorously assist his Sister upon cheaper terms, than by being absolute master of all her dominions, and of the person of her Son. But this was the Cardinal's Maxim, who did not pretend to be a Counsellor



Counsellor or Friend to the Dutchess, but to be supreme Arbitrator of her Will. To effect which, the Duke of *Savoy* and all his Country must be put into his hands, and then his advices would not be properly Counsels, but Commands. Besides, tho the Duke of *Savoy* was Nephew to the King, yet it was not safe to repose too much confidence in the Cardinal, whose ambition had no bounds, and whose dark designs 'twas impossible for any one to foresee. 'Twas to no purpose to talk of the great affection which *Lewis XIII.* had for his Sister, and of the obligations both of conscience and honour to protect her as well as his Nephew: All this served for nothing without the Cardinal's concurrence, of which 'twas impossible to be secure.

The Cardinal upon the point of his parting from *Grenoble* with the King, went to take his leave of the Dutchess, and \*told her, 'That he left her involved in \* *Siri*  
'greater dangers than those he had found her in, be- *Mem. Rec.*  
'cause her Enemies seeing that she was incapable to T. 8. p.  
'employ the only remedies which could preserve her 749.  
'from all the difficulties that threatned her, would be  
'sure to push on their designs with greater vigour, at  
'a juncture, when they saw her abandon'd by her Sub-  
'jects, and not able to procure the assistance of the  
'King her Brother: That she imitated those persons  
'that obey God's Commandments but in part, which  
'however would be ineffectual to their Salvation:  
'That those that wanted prudence to give her good  
'advice, wanted courage also to defend her, and  
'that those that dissuaded her from following the  
'King's Counsel, found it was their interest to ma-  
'nage her after this rate, and intended to redeem  
'their own losses by hers. The Cardinal preached a  
great deal of this cajoling doctrine to her, and left it  
with her in writing, that she might make more re-  
flexions upon it at leisure. But the Dutchess held fast to  
her resolutions not to divest herself of *Savoy*; and as this  
did not hinder the King from acting vigorously in  
*Piedmont*, if he were so minded, which was sufficient  
to preserve his Sister and his Nephew, 'twas impossi-  
ble to comprehend what should incline him to desire  
*Savoy*,

1639. *Savoy*, unless his Minister had some such design upon that Country, as he has abundantly convinced the world he had upon *Lorrain*.

Count *Philip d'Aglié*, who had confirmed the Dutchess in her opinion to keep *Montmelian*, incurred no little danger upon this occasion. The Dutchess was already got into her Coach to return to *Savoy*, and her Attendants were on Horseback to follow her, when the Cardinal took the Count by the hand, and led him into a Chamber to discourse him there in private. Here squeezing his hand, and pressing it hard against his breast, he frown'd upon him, and told him, 'That now he might return in glory to *Savoy*, 'since he had engag'd the Dutchess by his Advice, to 'put the greatest affront upon the King her Brother, 'and the greatest disappointment he could receive in 'the world, since people would now believe, that 'he came on purpose to talk with her, with a design 'to rob his Nephew of those places, which he desired 'with no other prospect than only to keep them against 'his Enemies, and to force them to surrender the 'rest they had taken from him. The Count made answer, That he had no power over the Dutchess's inclinations; and the Cardinal replied, that it were to be wished that all the world did believe the same; after which he turned his back upon him. The Count took Horse immediately, and without stopping at any place, never thought himself secure till he arrived to *Montmelian*. Nevertheless the Cardinal prevailed so far, that none of the *Piedmonteses* were to tarry there, except the Marquis de *St. Germain*, and Count *Cagnol* his Lieutenant, and that the Garrison should be wholly composed of *French*, that were in the Service of the House of *Savoy*.

Towards the end of *October*, de la Cour was sent Ambassador in Ordinary to be near the Dutchess, in the place of *D'Emery*, with positive Orders not to treat her with the Title of her Royal Highness, as she had for some time desired, in imitation of the Cardinal Infanta, to whom the Title was given. The Cardinal Duke was resolved never to grant her this satisfaction, because she had too much oppos'd his advice.

In

In the mean time the Cardinal *de la Valette* died, 1639. and the Pope refused to say Mass for his Soul, as 'tis the custom, under a pretence that he had headed an Army, which was composed in part of *Lutheran* Troops, against Catholics. He likewise denied to show him some other honours, that are accustomed to be paid to Cardinals. The Count *d' Harcourt*, who commanded the Kings Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, had orders to go and take his place. He march'd immediately, because the Truce was ready to expire; and as soon as it was ended, he attack'd *Quiers*, in sight of the Enemy's Army, who in vain endeavour'd to get thither before them. There were four hundred *Germans* in Garrison, and three Hundred Horse, who were reduced to capitulate the 28th of *October*, after some Volleys of Cannon had past between them. Next day the *Spaniards* advanced, as if they design'd to attack the *French* Lines, but the latter marched out to meet them, and defeated five Squadrons of Horse, who retreated in some disorder under the Cannon of *Villeneuve d' Asti*. The Count *d' Harcourt* being desirous to preserve *Quiers*, during the Winter, carried there so long to put it in a capacity of defending it self, that provisions began to fail him. In the mean time the Marquis *de Leganez*, and Prince *Thomas*, who had foreseen this, posted themselves so advantageously, that nothing could come to him from *Carmagnole*, and so reduc'd him to a necessity to pass between their two Bodies, if he were minded to stay there no longer. But their precaution was in vain, for the Count slip't by them one night with so much order and speed, that he had made the best part of his way, before the Enemy perceived it. Prince *Thomas*, who was first aware of them, design'd to attack the *French* in the Front, while the *Spaniards*, as he imagined, would fall upon their Rear. But he was repuls'd with loss, and the *Spanish* Cavalry, who came afterwards with full speed, were constrain'd to return to the place from whence they came, without doing any thing. Thus the Count arriv'd at *Carmagnole* without loss, after this double Victory, but the Marquis *de Leganez* was extremely blamed for losing

1639. sing so fair an opportunity. The Princes of *Savoy*, who had complain'd of him before, now had a fresh occasion to complain of him, as of one that was incapable to act with that promptitude and vigour which is requisite in War. The *Spaniards* sustain'd another loss near *Casal*, the Garrison of which place, on the 29th of *November*, carry'd off five of their best Companies of Horse; and so with this action the Campaign ended.

Cardinal *Maurice* and Prince *Thomas*, finding there was no way to accommodate matters with their Sister-in-law, published a Declaration, wherein they maintained themselves to be the lawful Guardians of the Duke of *Savoy* their Nephew, and acknowledged as such by the Emperor, and by the Inhabitants of *Piedmont*; so that they declared all those persons to be guilty of High Treason, that adhered to the Dutchess's party. But the Senate of *Chambery* cancell'd this Declaration, and the Dutchess publish'd another quite opposite to it.

\* See Aubern's life of the Cardinal, l. 6. ch. 37. In the mean time *France* was engag'd in a \* quarrel with the Court of *Rome*, as being very ill satisfied with its conduct for several reasons. One was, the death of *Rouvray*, Master of the Horse to the Marshal d' *Estrées*, who was assassinated by the *Sbirri*, because he had rescued his Valet out of their hands, who was condemned to the Gallies. The other was, the little notice the Pope took of the nomination his Majesty had made in favour of *Mazarine*, for a Cardinal's Cap. Besides this, the Minister had not been able as yet to obtain his Bulls for his Dignity of Abbot-General of the Orders of the *Cisterciens* and *Pramonstratenses*; and he had reason to complain of the manner the Pope had treated his Friend the Cardinal de la *Valette*. The first of these reasons was the occasion, why *Scoti*, the Pope's Nuncio, who succeeded *Bolognetti*, was forbidden to have audience of the King. He had a Conference upon this affair with *Chavigny*, who particularly complain'd of the Assassinate of the Marshal d' *Estrées* Gentleman of the Horse, and that the Pope had not permitted the accustomed service to be celebrated for the Cardinal de  
la

*la Valette*, as was usual for the other Cardinals. The Nuncio deny'd both one and the other, and began to complain that four or five Bishops being assembled in *Paris*, had propos'd to have a National Council summon'd. He added, that if they came to these extremities, he knew very well how to maintain the Interests of the Papal Chair, and that he did not doubt but the greatest part of the Bishops wou'd declare for him. *Chavigny* deny'd the matter of fact, and wou'd have put a writing into *Scoti's* hands, by which he was forbidden to come to the King's Audience, till his Majesty had receiv'd satisfaction from him; but the Nuncio refusing to receive it, *Chavigny* deliver'd it to him by word of mouth. After some discourse concerning a Peace, to which the Nuncio accus'd *France* to have an aversion, he told *Chavigny* that the menaces which the Cardinal *de Richlieu* made, no longer to acknowledge the Pope in *France*, but only as he was Head of the Church, and a Spiritual Prince, unless *Mazarine* was immediately promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal; and the disgust he took because he had not obtain'd his Bulls to be Abbot General of the *Cistercians*, were the true cause of the misunderstanding between his Holiness and the King. That Cardinal *Richlieu* had first made use of violent ways, in stopping the Pope's Curriers, and hindering him (*Scoti*) to perform the functions of his Nunciature Ordinary and Extraordinary: That he had assembled some Bishops at his Palace, to talk of convening a National Council, under pretence of *Annates*, and other pretended Grievances; that this was not the way to procure *Mazarine* a Cap; and that as for a National Council, the Prelates of *France* had too much zeal for the Holy See, of which they had given so many public testimonies, to engage in an affair of that nature. The Nuncio likewise complain'd, that *Chavigny* had order'd Father *Valerio*, a Discalceated *Carmelite*, to tell him, nay, to send word of it to *Rome*, that the King might with Justice, if he pleas'd, revenge the death of *Rouzeay* upon the Nuncio, by sending the Mobb to insult him in his house, or bastinado him in the streets; but that his



1639. his Majesty wou'd not make use of his power; and that he expected satisfaction from Cardinal *Antonio Barberin*. *Chavigny* denyed he ever said any thing like it, but the Nuncio offering to send for Father *Antonio*, he told him there was no necessity for it, and began to make a Panegyric upon the Cardinal \*. After some other discourse they parted.

\* See the Relation of this Conference on the 9th of Dec. in 1. 2. of Aub. Mem. P. 409.

As the Nuncio refused to receive from *Chavigny* the above-mentioned order in writing, which he tendred to him, *Berlise* the Introduc'tor of the Ambassadors, accompanied by an Usher of the Privy Council, was sent to give it him. The Nuncio refus'd it a second time, nay, not only so, but wou'd not hear it read, and withdrew into another Chamber. *Berlise* left it upon the Table, and charg'd the Nuncio's Officers to give it him, but as soon as the Introduc'tor of Ambassadors was gone, they threw it back to him into his Coach. In the mean time, the King forbad all the Bishops of *France* to have any manner of communication with *Scoti*, and every night a Guard was placed about his house, to hinder any one from going to him.

\* Ibid. p. 414. & 415.

The Nuncio writ a complaining \* Letter to the King, that he never spoke the least disrespectful word in regard of his Majesty, and that he had done nothing, which he was not indispensibly obliged by his character to do. But the Cardinal complain'd highly of his conduct to Cardinal *Bagno*, as being *inconsiderate and too violent*; for he did not value it seems their threatenng to Battinado him, which the Grand Seignior, said *Scoti*, durst not do at *Constantinople* to a Bayly of *Venice*. The Cardinal writ likewise to the Pope, to complain of him for refusing to take informations about the life and manners of him whom the King had nominated to the Bishoprick of *Cominge*, altho they had been taken before a Diocesan Bishop, pretending that it was to be done before the Nuncio. To this he joyn'd several other Grievances, which some Prelates, attended several times at *St. Genevieve*, had presented to him. All this only tended to obtain more speedily for him the Bulls for his being General of the *Cisterciens* and *Pramonstratenses*; and he on his

his side granted to the Court of *Rome* a great part of what they demanded. 1639.

After having thus recounted the most remarkable passages in *Italy*, that have a relation to our Cardinal's History, we must now relate in a few words the attempts of *France* in the *Low Countries*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Germany*, against the House of *Austria*. Ever since the preceding year the *French* had a design to attack *Hedin*, but the relief which Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* had thrown into the place, diverted that design. This year they took it in hand again, and the Marquis de *Meilleraye* had orders to open the Campaign, on the side of *Artois*, with the Siege of this place. At the same time a small body of men was given to the Marquis de *Fenquieres*, to enter into the Country of *Luxemburgh*, and attack *Thionville*. \*Some persons are of opinion, that *Fenquieres* received this order from the Cardinal against his will, and that he was only sent thither to facilitate the taking of *Hedin*, and do honour to the Marquis de *Meilleraye*. Others \* deny it, and pretend that *Fenquieres* was left at liberty to attempt the reduction of this place, or barely to oppose *Picolomini*. \* *Siri Mem Rec. T. 8. p. 773: Aub. Vic. du Gard. L. 6. c. 30.*

However it was, while \* *Meilleraye* attack'd *Hedin*, the Army commanded by *Fenquieres*, which consisted of eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, advanced before *Thionville*. Altho the place was strong enough, yet it was so ill provided, that in all appearance *Fenquieres* would carry it in a few days, if *Picolomini* did not march to the relief of it. He made so much haste, and marched with so little noise, that he \* appear'd before the *French* thought he could have reach'd them, so that *Fenquieres* could not imagine who he was, when he saw his Colours. As he marched between the Woods, they could not judge what quarter he would attack, and all that the *French* General could do was to put his Army in Battel, in the different posts where they stood, to be in a condition to march, if there should be occasion. All this while *Fenquieres* was in an extraordinary perplexity, which made several Officers laugh who did not love him, and call'd him the *Pedant*, because he was fitter  
for

\* The 22. of May.  
\* The 7th of June.

1639. for Negotiation, than the Military profession. In the mean time *Picolomini* gave the first onset on that quarter which was posted on the other side the *Moselle*, which he carried after a vigorous opposition made by the Foot, for the Horse run away. By this means *Picolomini* threw what succors he pleas'd into *Thionville*, and then placed his Army in Battel Array, between the Counterscarp of the place, and the Quarter of *Feuquieres*, without advancing further, till about five a clock in the Afternoon. The *French* General, who had sent his Artillery Horses to *Mets*, was of the opinion to stay for them to carry him off, or at least to defer the Retreat till night. But the Enemy having approached a Ravelin, which parted the two Armies, with their Artillery, began to cannonade the *French*, who likewise advanced on their side; tho' for want of Horses, they were not in a condition to bring up their Artillery. This gave the Enemy an opportunity to pass the Ravelin, notwithstanding the resistance of the *French* Infantry, who were, once more, in this extremity abandon'd by the Horse. *Feuquieres*, as he perform'd all the Offices of a General, received two shots from a Musquet, one of which broke his arm, so he was obliged to retire the distance of a Cannon shot from the place, where the action was. There he was taken Prisoner, and conducted to *Thionville*, where he died in a few days after, partly of his wounds, and partly of grief. The *French* lost few of their Horse, because they had the discretion to run away betimes, but their Infantry were half kill'd upon the spot, and half taken Prisoners.

The Marechal de *Chatillon*, to whom the Cardinal had given a small Army, which he commanded upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, was blamed for not advancing to the relief of *Feuquieres*, since he had notice of *Picolomini's* March. 'Tis reported that he was not sorry for the defeat of *Feuquieres*, whom out of derision he called the *New General*; because it would make the raising of the Siege of *St. Omers* be forgotten.

After

After this advantage, *Picolomini* judging that the *French*, dispirited and terrified with this overthrow, would not be in a condition to oppose his designs, marched directly to \* *Verdun*: but the Marechal having thrown three Regiments into the place, he went to attack *Monzon*, which however he could not so speedily do, but that seven or eight hundred men were put into it. Nevertheless he carry'd all the Outworks of the place easily enough, and had made himself Master of the Town, if the Marechal, who had gathered the stragling remainders of *Fenquieres's* Army, had not marched thither with extraordinary haste, which \* obliged *Picolomini* to retire to *Yvoix*, as being not in a condition to resist an Army composed of 12000 Foot, and 4000 Horse.

In the mean time, the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* prest the Siege of *Hedin* with great vigour; and it was fear'd that *Picolomini* would pass the *Meuse*, to joyn the Cardinal Infanta, in order to make him raise it. Upon this consideration the Marechal was ordered to follow him, and observe his motions. But the place was forced to surrender on the 29th of *June*, for fear lest the Enemy should enter it through the Breach. The King, who was then at *Abbeville*, to come and behold the Siege, made his entry into the Town through it; and the same day bestow'd a Marechals Staff upon the Marquis *de la Meilleraye*. About a month after, the Marechal *de Chatillon* \* retook *Yvoix*, and order'd the Fortifications to be razed to the ground. After this, no considerable Action happen'd on the side of the *Low Countries*.

During the same Campaign, the \* Prince of *Conde* entred into *Ronsillon*, and besieged the Fort of *Salces*, which is not far from *Leucate*; and altho *Don Michel Lorenza Bravo* defended it with a great deal of vigour, yet he oblig'd it to capitulate on the 19th of *July*. He took *Cannet* some time after, and then withdrew to *Narbonne*, leaving the charge of the Army to the Marechal *de Schomberg*. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Forces advanced under the command of the Marquis *de Spinola*, and came to re-besiege *Salces*, on the 20th of *September*. Not to lose time, he order'd

1639.

\* The Relation of the Marechal de Chatillon in the Mem. of Aub. T. 2. p. 312.

\* The 21 of June.

\* On the 2d of Aug.

See the Capitulation in the Mem. of Aub. T. 2. p. 337.

\* See Mem. R. c. T. 8.

p. 779.

p. 779.

1639. a general assault to be made upon the Outworks, and carried them, but with the loss of abundance of his men. This made him not so violently attack the body of the place, and *D'Espenan* who commanded in chief there, made frequent Sallies to beat him off. While things were in this posture on both sides, the Prince of *Conde* summoned the *Arriere-ban*, and gathered as many Troops as he could find, with all imaginable speed, to preserve this new Conquest, and force the *Spaniards* to raise the Siege. He marched on the 22d of *October*, and caused the *Spanish* Lines to be observed by the *Marschal de Schomberg*, and the Duke de *St. Simon*, who advanced in a Boat towards that side, upon the Lake of *Leucate*, and discover'd there were great spaces void, by which they judg'd entire Squadrons and Batallions might enter in a front. This confirm'd the Prince in his design to attack the *Spaniards*; and the better to surprize them, he pass'd his Army over the Mountains, instead of marching along by the Sea side. On the 24th he arriv'd in sight of the Enemy's Camp, with twenty two thousand Foot, the greatest part of whom were the Country Militia, and four thousand Horse, besides two thousand Volunteers. The *Spaniards* were in a great consternation when they saw from afar so powerful an Army marching towards them, through ways which were always held to be impracticable; and if the Prince had fallen upon them at that instant, in all probability they had been destroyed. But he was of opinion to defer the Onset till next morning, thinking the *Spaniards* durst not stay to expect him; but about midnight there arose so prodigious a tempest of wind, rain, and thunder, that the Army, extremely incommoded by this unfavourable night, deserted in great numbers, as soon as day-light appear'd. They that arriv'd were oblig'd to draw back, because the space between them and the Enemy's Camp was by the rain converted into a perfect Lake; and the Prince of *Conde*, who was but indifferently beloved by the Troops and the Militia, could not oblige them to come back again. The *Spaniards* also sustain'd no small detriment by it; however this did  
not



not constrain them to discontinue their Attacks, but they compleated their Lines. Nevertheless the Prince, who had still fourteen thousand men with him \*, resolved to attack them ; but he was repulsed after he had lost three thousand of his men, and left as many prisoners to the Enemy. *Salces* was obliged to surrender to the *Spaniard*, which ill news extremely discompos'd the Cardinal, who had been accused more than once for his ill choice of Generals. The Sieges of *Dole* and *Fontarabia* came afresh into mens memories, and 'twas believed now more than ever that the Duke de *la Valette* was innocent.

Thus it cannot be said, that this Campaign was fortunate to the *French*, altho they took a few places in the *Low Countries* \*. The Duke of *Weymar* made war against the *Imperialists*, rather for himself than *France*, altho she reaped this advantage by his conquests, that the Troops which the Emperor employ'd against him, could not act against her. He had pass'd the winter with his Troops in the Mountain de *Vauge* and in the *Franche-Comte*, where he had reduced abundance of small places, which were not in a condition to make any resistance ; and where his Army, fatigued and diminish'd one half at least, by the preceding Campaign, recruited, and increas'd considerably. Altho his Troops were but indifferently paid, the great indulgence he shew'd them, and the frequent ravages they made, gain'd him so effectually the hearts of the Souldiers, that he rais'd what Recruits he had occasion for, without great difficulty. At this time his thoughts were chiefly employ'd in preserving of *Briscie*, intending to erect a Principality with what he could conquer about that City ; for he began to be weary of being as it were a bare General of the *French*, and to depend upon the Caprices of a haughty inconstant Minister, from whom he could expect nothing but an everlasting Slavery for the Reward of his Services. After the taking of *Briscie*, the Cardinal sent him word, that it would be necessary for him to come to *Paris*, to take measures there for the next Campaign, but the principal reason was, to engage to deliver up that important place to the

1639.

\* The 31 of Oct.

\* *SiriMem.*  
Rec. T.8.  
p. 763.

1639. *French.* As he exprest some difficulty of going thither, they took care not to pay him the Arrears they had promised him, altho he demanded them with great importunity. However he kept to his resolution not to go to *France*, but contented himself to send Colonel *d' Erlach*, the Governor of *Brisac* thither, who only talked of the designs of the ensuing Campaign, and pretended that the great preparations that the Emperor made to regain *Brisgow*, hindered the Duke from coming to *Paris*. The Count *de Guebriant* having orders to feel his Pulse about *Brisac*, the Duke bluntly answer'd him, that to demand a chaste Woman's Virginity, and a brave Man's Honour, was the same thing. Nevertheless the Cardinal extorted a promise from *d' Erlach*, that if the Duke happen'd to dye, he would resign *Brisac* to *France*, and ordered him to acquaint that Prince, that if he would quit it, they would supply him with Men and Money to make himself Master of the *Franche Comte*, and see him confirm'd in it by a Treaty of Peace. But he was too wise to fall into such a snare as this, and thought it much better to be in possession of *Brisac*, and part of *Alsatia*, than of the *Franche Comte*, because it lay nearer to his friends in *Germany*, and that he could more easily preserve this Principality, even against *France* it self, in case she should ever pretend to dispute it with him. On the other hand, the Cardinal, who was sensible of the Duke's designs, began to be afraid of him, and knew not whether he should wish that he should make any new advances, or be beaten by the *Imperialists*. The report runs, that he secretly treated of a Marriage with the Landgrave of *Hesse's* Daughter, which would have put him at the head of twenty thousand men kept in constant pay by that House, besides his own Troops, and thus have made himself formidable to all *Germany*.

The Cardinal and he were taken up with these different thoughts, when the Duke came from *Burgundy* to *Swigow*, to pass the *Rhine* at *Newbourg*, and from thence to march to the *Black Forest*. Being arrived at *Newbourg*, he there fell sick on the 4th of *July*, and died on the 18th, in the thirty sixth year of his

his Age. The Cardinal was suspected to have got him poison'd, in order to make himself master of his Conquests; and indeed people talk'd of indications strong enough \* to prove that he was dispatched by poison. But after all, perhaps the only foundation to charge the Cardinal with this crime, was because immediately after his Death *France* took possession of those places he had conquer'd.

The Duke of *Weymar* had order'd by his \* Will, that they should be consign'd into the hands of one of his Brothers, who was willing to take possession of them; and who, to preserve them more easily, would endeavour to gain the favour of the Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*; and that in case none of his Brothers should think fit to take possession of them, *France* should be preferr'd; upon condition that the strong places should receive a garrison of part *French*, and part *Germans*, and that they should be restor'd to the Empire by a general Peace. In regard of the Army, he order'd that after his decease, it should be commanded by Major General d' *Erlach*, Collonel *Olem*, Count *Nassau*, and Collonel *Roze*, and after them by other Collonels. He gave several Legacies to the Officers of the Army, and to his Domesticks, amounting to the summ of three hundred thousand Crowns, and gave his Charging Horse to the Count de *Guebriant*.

The Directors of the Army, which were in a manner wholly compos'd of old Souldiers, sent immediately into *France* to demand the protection of that Crown, and endeavour to make some advantage for themselves in this conjuncture. An Agent of *Sueden*, then residing at *Benfeld*, took pains to perswade the Army to joyn that of *Banier*, by remonstrating to them that 'twas what they ow'd to the memory of *Gustavus Adolphus*. But the Money which the Count de *Guebriant* liberally distributed among the Officers, made a greater impression upon them, than all the discourses of the *Suedish* Minister. 'Twas unanimously agreed by them, to compose a body apart by themselves, nay, some discours'd of putting the Elector Palatine in the room of the Duke of *Weymar*; but

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† See Sam  
Pufendorf.  
Sec. 1. c. 11.

\* See it in  
the Mem.  
of Aubert.  
T. 2. p. 419.

1939. this Prince coming from *England*, was stopt in *France* through which he design'd to pass *incognito*.

The Cardinal having receiv'd advice that the Duke of *Weymar* was dead, was not overmuch troubled at the news, for he had long ago entertain'd a jealousy, that this Prince rather designed to make his own fortune, than either to aggrandize *France*, or humble the House of *Austria*. The first thing they took care of was to preserve his Army for the King, and get possession of the places he had taken. In pursuance of this, \* *Baron de Oisonville* was immediately dispatch'd to the Count de *Guebriant*, to bring him those Orders he was to follow upon this occasion. He was commission'd to tell the Officers, that they should not only have the same pay continued to them, which they had under the Duke of *Weymar*, but likewise considerable Pensions, if they would take the Oaths of Fidelity to the King. Above all, he was particularly charged to remember Major General d' *Erlach* of the promise he had made, in case the Duke happen'd to dye, concerning *Brisac*; and to offer him two hundred thousand Livres in ready money, if he would surrender it to the King, or if he was minded to continue Governor of it for the King, a pension of six thousand Crowns, besides what he had under the Duke of *Weymar*; provided he would consent to have a *French* Lieutenant, and one half of the Garrison *French*. The like orders were also sent, concerning the Governors of the other places on t' other side the *Rhine*; but as for those on this side, in regard of *France*, the King pretended they belonged to him of right. Besides this, the Count de *Guebriant* was to propose the Duke of *Longneville* to the Army to be their General, and to back this proposition, by bestowing sums of Money, as he should see convenient.

\* See the Letter of the 31 of July to Noyers. Mem. d' Aub. T. 2. p. 423.

The King was afterwards inform'd, that General d' *Erlach* was very well inclin'd to *France*, and \* that he had taken great care to prevent the Army from disbanding, and to engage the Officers to continue in the Service of the Crown. The Court also received a Copy of the Duke of *Weymar*'s Will, and contrivances were set on foot to hinder it from being executed.

To

To effect this, *De Choisy* was sent to confer with the Count *de Guebriant*, and Baron *d'Osionville* upon this affair, with the following instructions; that they should endeavour to secure themselves of the Army, without any relation to the Brothers of the late Duke, nay tho they should have a mind to enter into the Kings service; that it was not reasonable that the expences his Majesty had been at to re-establish the Duke of *Weymar's* Army after the Battel of *Nortlingac*, and support it ever since, and to make him conquer *Brisac* and other places should be lost in an instant, by changing of parties, which the Brothers of the late Duke might be easily perswaded to do, since they had already once abandoned that side, which they now embraced; that the Duke might have very well left all his Money to his Brothers, but that he could not leave them the command of the Army, nor the places of *Alsacia*, for several reasons that are mentioned in this Instruction; that therefore they ought to employ all manner of means to secure both the Troops and the Places directly for the King, and not tarry to know whether his Brothers had a mind to accept what the late Duke offer'd them in his Will; That if they could gain all the Leaders, there needed no more to do, but if any of them made a difficulty to engage in his Majesty's service, they should not fail to receive the Oaths of the rest, and sign a Treaty with them, to assure them that they should be gratified by the King.

In the mean time Count *Flerfchein*, who was sent to the Court by the Directors of the Army, arrived thither, and presented their proposals, upon which the King dispatch'd new \* Instructions to the Count \* *Dated the 20 of Aug.* *de Guebriant*, and to two other Deputies that acted in his name, for the affairs of the Army, and the places possess'd by the Duke of *Weymar*. At last, after several Conferences and difficulties, too tedious to be recounted here, a \* Treaty was concluded at *Brisac*, on the 9th of *October*; the principal Articles whereof are as follow: That the King agreed that the Troops, commanded by the Duke of *Weymar*, should continue in a Body, as he expressly desired in 450.



1639. his last Will and Testament, and under the direction of the Officers whom he nominated: That the Artillery should be commanded by the same Officers, that commanded it when the late Duke of *Weymar* was alive, and for the most part be joyn'd to the *German* Body, with power to the Marshals of the *French* Camp, and to the Directors of the *German* Troops, to give them from time to time the necessary orders: That if it so happen'd that the Army came to be destroy'd, in whole or in part, by any misfortune of War, or some other inevitable accident, the King should be oblig'd to give the Officers extraordinary Allowances to re-establish their Troops; That the King should take care to pay them the Arrears due at *May*, which amounted to two hundred thousand Crowns, and were to be employed in paying a months pay to all the Army, and should give them good Bills for six hundred thousand Livres more, for the third payment of that year, due the last of *September*, of which the Directors and Officers of the Army should employ three hundred thousand to remount and recruit the Troops: That the King should pay the Army three payments and a half yearly, according to the agreement made with the Duke of *Weymar*; with this proviso, that the half payment should be employ'd by the Officers, in recruits and re-establishing their Troops, and the other three in paying off the Officers and Souldiers, according to the reviews that should be made of them by the Kings Commissaries: That besides this, his Majesty should pay as well to the General Officers, as to those of the Artillery, eight payments *per annum*, according to the Appointments assign'd to them by the Duke of *Weymar*: That his Majesty should still supply them with all necessary provisions of War; besides all extraordinary expences, as well as Ammunition-bread, without deducting any thing out of their pay for it: That if any of the Officers, Soldiers, or other private persons of the Army should demand of his Majesty the Donation of some Lands or Houses situate in the conquer'd Countries, the King shall promise to give them such gratifications as shall content them, and ratifie

ratifie all the Donations which the Duke of *Weymar* 1. 6 3 9.  
 had granted to them: That the Orders should be  
 given to the Soldiers by the Directors, or by one of  
 them as they should agree amongst themselves, and  
 that they should first receive them from the Duke of  
*Longueville*, as the *French* Officers used to receive  
 them from the Duke of *Weymar*; that the Directors  
 should be called to all the Counsels which shall be  
 kept for the common cause: That the conquer'd  
 places should be deliver'd into the King's hands, that  
 so he might give *Brisac* and *Friburg* to such Gover-  
 nors as he should see fit, and place in them Garrisons  
 half *French*, and half *German*, as well as in the other  
 places, whose Governors he should chuse out of the  
 Body of the Army.

Upon these conditions the Directors and Officers  
 promis'd the King, in the name of the whole Army,  
 to serve him upon all occasions, and were to confirm  
 it by Oath, as soon as the Treaty was ratified, which  
 the King's Deputies were obliged to procure in the  
 term of two months, to commence from the day this  
 Treaty was dated. By a secret Article it was provi-  
 ded, that the King should continue the Governments  
 of *Brisac* and *Friburg*, in those hands that then com-  
 manded them; that if he should remove these of  
 other places, he should choose others out of the Ar-  
 my to put in their room: That lastly, he would per-  
 mit in all these places, a free exercise of the Prote-  
 stant Religion.

After the Ratification of this Treaty, the Duke  
 of *Longueville* having staid a month at *Cremtsnach*,  
 and not able to subsist there any longer, by reason of  
 the great scarcity of Forrage, ordered his men to pass  
 the *Rhine* about the end of the year, and the begin-  
 ning of the following, upon a small number of Boats, \* See the  
 and the Horses swam over, in which several days is in the  
 were spent. This Army which was quartered in Mem. d'  
 high *Hesse*, about *Marburg*, might easily have been Aub. T. 2.  
 cut in pieces, if the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops p. 454.  
 could have stir'd out of their Winter Quarters. D' A-  
 montq, and de la Bodiere, Envoys from the King to  
*Amelia Elisabeth*, Landgrave of *Hesse*, had concluded

1639. a Treaty with her, to engage her to declare against the Imperialists, on the 22d of August. \* It was in a manner the same with that which the King had made with the Swedes, and the Landgrave was to have two hundred thousand Crowns a year, for declaring against the Catholick League. The Duke of Longueville being now in her Territories made a new Treaty with her, concerning the quartering of his Army, and some other difficulties that arose in the preceding Treaty.

\* See it in  
the same  
Collection.  
T. 2. p.  
432.

Banier, who all this year kept himself not far from the Elb and the Baltick Sea, in the preceding year carried the War into Saxony, Silesia, and into Bohemia; where his Army subsisted conveniently enough, and the Imperialists could not hinder him. It was a pretty while since people began to talk of a general Peace, but so many great difficulties started up, that it came to nothing.

\* See Sam.  
Pufend.  
Rer. sacc.  
l. 11.

Before we pass to the Affairs of State, and the events of War for the ensuing year, we must here take notice of some intrigues of Court, wherein the Cardinal had a much greater share, than in the conduct of the Army. I have already spoken of the \* Marchioness de Senecey, first Lady of Honour to the Queen, and of the great confidence that Princess repos'd in her. It was thirteen years since the Marchioness had enjoy'd that Post; and she had always serv'd the Queen with an unshaken fidelity, without purchasing the Cardinals favour by betraying her Mistress, as the greatest part of the Courtiers us'd to do. The Cardinal, who was jealous lest this Lady, who possess'd a great share of vivacity and wit, would one day or other insinuate into the Queen some designs contrary to his Ministry, resolv'd to ruine her; and as the King implicitly believ'd every thing he told him, he prevail'd with him to write a Letter to the Queen, wherein he sent her word that for some important reasons he found it convenient for her to dismiss the Marchioness de Senecey. Chavigny \* brought this Letter to the Queen as she was ready to sit down to dinner, and was just come from Notre Dame to acquit herself of a vow she had made for the birth of the Dauphin.

\* SiriMer.  
T. 2. l. 2.  
p. 555:

\* In Sept.  
1639.

The

The Queen was exceedingly surpriz'd at this Order of the King, since it concern'd a Lady with whom she had so much reason to be well satisfied, and cou'd not forbear to shew a great deal of concern for it: But at last she said she was born to obey the King, and that she would execute his Orders. She perceiv'd well enough from what quarter this storm attackt her, and hoping that she might perhaps bring the Cardinal to a better temper if she address herself to him, she writ to him to interpose in this affair, and prevent the execution of what would give her so much disturbance. But the Minister, who was not a man that would suffer himself to be wrought upon by pure civilities, sent her word that he was much oblig'd to her Majesty for the confidence she seem'd to repose in him, but that he could not give her better advice than to obey the King. The Queen was extremely offended at this answer, and could not forbear to say, that it was not the King, but the Cardinal, she was forc'd to obey. So without taking the least notice of her complaints, or so much as acquainting her with it, *Madam de Senecey's* place was given to *Madam de Brassac*, whom the Queen could not endure, because she was entirely in the interests of the Cardinal. For the same reasons the Cardinal got the Baron *de St. Ange*, who was Comptroller of the Queens Household, to be discarded. It seems he was afraid lest the Queen, who was now become a Mother, might insensibly gain the good affections of the King, and at last prevail with his Majesty to turn him off. To prevent which, he gave the King to understand, that the Queen was excessively partial to the House of *Austria*; and engag'd him as much as he could, to mortifie that Princels; following his ancient Maxim, That a man ought not to have any confidence or friendship for those whom he has often treated ill. However, to give the Queen some time to vent her passion, he order'd matters so, that under a pretence of hunting, the King came not nigh her for a long time.

A little before this happen'd, the King seem'd to have an extraordinary kindness for *Madam de Haute-  
fort*,



1639. *fort*, after the retreat of *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*; but the Cardinal did not think it worth his while then to cross this new amour, because she was a Lady of a soft easie temper, and incapable of caballing. It was some years ago since the King had a respect for her, but he had discontinued for a long time to give her any marks of it. The Court was mightily surpriz'd at the Kings fondness, and knew not well what name to give it, for as on one side he seem'd to have a wonderful passion for those of the fair Sex, so he was the coldest of all men living. Instead of seeking an opportunity to entertain them in private, he never spoke to them but in the face of the whole Court, and in the Queens Apartment: and this Princess was so far from entertaining any jealousy at it, that she was extremely pleas'd that these Ladies drew the King to her Apartment, nay, what is more, she made them her friends and confidants. 'Tis probable the King design'd no more than barely to amuse himself with their conversation, to unbend himself from his other affairs. The Cardinal had at first without any distrust beheld the esteem which the King seem'd to have for *Madam de Hauteport*, but he began to look with an ill eye upon it, when he found this Lady to be an intimate friend of *Mademoiselle de Chemeraut*, who had infinitely more wit than she, and was the fittest person in the world to suggest to her, what she was to say to the King.

To disengage his Majesty from these correspondences, which he suspected, the Cardinal carried him to the frontiers of *Artois* and *Champagne*, and afterwards of *Dauphine*, to efface all these impressions. The Duke de *S. Simon*, who had been for some time a Favorite of the King, being remov'd from him, for some other reasons, the Cardinal endeavor'd to introduce into his place, *Henri d'Effiat*, Lord of *Cinq-mars*, Son to the Marechal d'Effiat, a young Gentleman full of wit, and handsomely made as to his person. He was Master of the Wardrobe, and after he was in favour, the Duke de *Bellegarde* surrender'd his place of Master of the Horse to him. At first the King had an aversion to him, because he behav'd himself



himself very negligently in his Office of Master of the Wardrobe, and had inclinations wholly different from those of his Majesty. However the Cardinal knew so well how to manage the King in favour of him, that the antipathy he seem'd to have for him, turn'd into an extraordinary friendship and confidence; so that he could not tarry a day without seeing him. It was during the Siege of *Hedin*, that the King first began to shew him any marks of his favour; when he gave him a pension of fifteen hundred Crowns, and ever since that time, he could not divert himself without him. And now the King wholly forgot *Madam de Hautefort*, in whose entertainment he only sought to meet the same amusement, as he found in that of his Favourite. After he was in bed, and all the company withdrawn out of the room, he caus'd him to sit down by him, and would thus pass two or three hours alone with him. Thus the Cardinal, by the means of this Favourite, knew all the Kings thoughts, and in the assurance that nothing came into his mind, which was disadvantageous to the Ministry, he govern'd the State with ease and tranquillity enough.

As he had influenced the King to take a fancy to young *d'Effiat*, so he had also instructed the latter how to make himself be beloved, knowing perfectly what was most proper to gain the Kings friendship. However, lest the sight of *Madam de Hautefort* should diminish this growing favour, the Cardinal still found out one way or another to keep the King from *Paris*, as indeed he did the better part of this year. But at last the Kings Physicians did in private disapprove of these long Journeys, and his Majesty expressing a mighty desire to return to *Paris*, that he might there divert himself in his Royal Houses, it was not possible to detain him from it any longer. So he took the Road to *Paris*, while the Court was in great expectation to see who would carry it in the Kings favour. The Queen, according to his order, was at *Fountainbleau*, when he \* arrived thither, and he saluted her with a coldness, which might have been expected from him, if he had parted from her  
but

\* In November.

1639. but a few hours before. As for Madam de Hautefort, who expected to be so mightily carest by him, he scarce vouchsafed to look at her, and publicly protested he would no longer have any consideration for her. Nay, he told her in private, that he knew she spoke ill of *Cinq-Mars*, but that she had better forbear it, for he had infinitely a greater kindness for him than ever he had for her, or for any one in the world; and that he would find out a way to ruin all those that should Cabal against him.

This was a sufficient indication with a witness how small an esteem the King had for this Lady; however lest his affection should break out afresh, the Cardinal so order'd matters, that he commanded her, as well as Mademoiselle de Chemerault, to leave the Court. They went both to *Paris*, where they tarried for some time in a Monastery of Nuns; but as they receiv'd too many visits in that place, the second had orders to retire into *Poitou*, and the other to be at least forty leagues distance from *Paris*. The Queen was wonderfully concern'd at their harsh usage, because she had an extraordinary confidence in them, who for their part were thus cruelly treated for no other reason, but because they were not dependents upon the Cardinal. After this manner, all those persons were removed from the Queen, in whom she could repose any trust, lest she should attempt any thing against the grandeur of the Minister; and this new Favourite serv'd to possess the King with a thousand stories disadvantageous to that Princess.

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To return now to events of greater importance; \* *Siri. Mem.* The \* *Suedes* were not well pleas'd, that the *French* Rec. T. 8. had pass'd the *Rhine* with so considerable an Army, and p. 809. & taken their winter-quarters in *Hesse*; because they \* *Pufend.* pretended that they were not to enter into *Germany* Rer. Sac- but in the nature of Auxiliaries. The *French* were cic. l. 12. going to acquire a mighty reputation, by obliging the Houses of *Hesse* and *Lunenburg* to break the Neutrality, and to act in conjunction with them against the *Imperialists*; and they would soon advance too far in directing the affairs of *Germany*, if the *Suedes* did not take some care to prevent it. For this end

Banier

*Banier* marched into *Thuringia*, and desir'd the Duke of *Longueville* to come and joyn him, with a design to debauch the Army of the late Duke of *Weymar*, and to engage them rather to serve the Crown of *Sweden*. After several marches, *Picolomini*, who was come from the *Low Countries*, and had joyn'd the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops, oblig'd the Confederate forces to joyn, as they did at the beginning of *May*, in order to attack them. *Picolomini* was encamp'd upon the River *Saal* with fifteen thousand men, and within a days march of him were ten thousand *Bavarians*, who secured to him the provisions that came from *Franconia*. The Duke of *Longueville* and *Banier* had thirty two thousand men, and resolv'd to attack *Picolomini*: but they found him so well intrenched, that they durst not attempt it. Several marches and counter-marches there were on both sides, without coming to a decisive Battel, altho they had frequent Skirmishes. Towards the end of the Campaign, the Duke of *Longueville* falling sick, left the Command of the Army to the Count de *Guebriant*. The *French* mightily suspected that the *Swedes* had a mind to debauch their Army, and the *Swedes* on their side were jealous, that the *French* designs had no other end but the grandeur of their own Country. Thus these reciprocal suspicions, joyn'd to their different sentiments concerning the marching of the Army, hinder'd them from performing any considerable action.

On the side of the *Low Countries*, the Marechal de *la Meilleraye* had orders to go and besiege *Charlemont* upon the *Meuse*, and he marcht thither at the beginning of *May*, but the rains were so excessive that he durst not continue his march, in a Country, where he could expect neither Victuals nor Forrage. However the Orders of the Court were precise, and the Cardinal would never suffer any difficulties to be started, after he had once projected a thing. Upon this the Council of War resolv'd to send him a Memorial of the insuperable difficulties that attended this design, and so it was laid aside. But soon after another design was laid against *Arras*, - a place of far greater

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greater importance, where they thought to succeed much easier than in the former. The principal difficulty that offer'd it self was, to hinder the *Spaniards* from discovering their design, and throwing succors into the place. For this reason they came to a resolution, that the *Mareschal de Chatillon* should march strait to *Bethune*, as if he design'd to besiege that place, and that the *Mareschal de Meilleraye* should follow him by small Journeys, as it were to support him, but that so soon as the latter was arrived at *Bapaume*, he should turn directly to *Arras*, and the *Mareschal de Chatillon* should do the same on his side. This was so happily executed, that the two Armies appear'd before *Arras* on the 12th of *June*, before the *Spaniards* were able to penetrate into their design. A few days after the Army received the great Convoys and Artillery, for which they had occasion, and the *Spaniards* were not in a condition to hinder it. The *Count d'Isenburg*, Governor of the place, who happen'd to be absent, endeavour'd in vain to get into it, when the Siege was once form'd, and he was obliged to leave the care of his defence to *Eugenius Buel*, an *Irish* Colonel, who commanded in his absence. General *Lambos*, who was incamp'd within a league and half of the place, in a very advantageous post, did likewise vainly attempt to throw some relief into the Town, being defeated by the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye*. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the Garrison, the place was every day more and more straitned, so that the Cardinal Infanta was forced to march in person to relieve it, and form'd a Camp at *Mount de S. Eloi*, in a place easy to be defended, and which was separated from the *Mareschal de Chatillon's* quarter by a plain of about a league over. The *French* could not receive their provisions but from a great way off, and part of their Troops must of necessity leave their Lines to go and meet them. Altho they did not stand in want of them as yet, yet fearing the Siege would employ them some time, and that the *Spaniards* would fortify themselves with new Troops, the *Mareschals* prest the Court to send them a Convoy without delay,



lay, and concerted their measures for this with the Cardinal. The Convoy being ready to depart, the Cardinal gave orders to *Du Hallier* to guard it, but at the same time the King forbid him to advance, without saying a word to the Minister. This Prohibition was founded upon a fear of his Majesty, that in case *Du Hallier* and the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye*, who was to meet him, happen'd to be defeated, the *Spaniards* would break into the bowels of the Kingdom, and occasion great disorders there. But then he ran a great hazard too, to leave the Army which besieged *Arras*, in imminent destruction, to save the Body which *Du Hallier* commanded. When *Choupes* brought him an order from the Cardinal, he made a thousand difficulties, that he might not march. But at last, when *Choupes* assured him that he would answer to the Cardinal for his conduct, and that he must expect to take upon himself the ill success of the Siege, in case it miscarry'd, *Du Hallier* resolv'd to obey the Cardinal rather than the King, and so the Convoy arriv'd happily to the Camp. This opposition of *Du Hallier*, who had presum'd for some time, to ballance the Cardinal's Orders with those of the King, was the reason why he could not obtain a *Mareschal's* Staff till long after.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* having receiv'd advice, that the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye* was gone out of the Camp with three thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, attacked the *French* Lines, which were double, and forced the first, notwithstanding all the resistance the *Mareschal de Chavillon* could make. After this they went on to force the second, so that being supported by a vigorous Sally from the Garrison, they had infallibly reliev'd the place, if the *French* going out of their second Line, had not fallen upon them in the Flank, and made them think of a Retreat. In the heat of the Fight the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye* arriv'd, and about half an hour after *du Hallier*; so that the *Spaniards* seeing so great a number of Troops march against them, were oblig'd to retire, leaving twelve hundred of their men dead in the *French* Lines. The



1640. *French* lost about half the number, but for their satisfaction, after they had made considerable breaches in the place, they forced it to surrender on the 10th of *August*. *St. Premil* Captain of the Guards, who had signalized his bravery in the Siege, was made Governor of the Town. By this Conquest, *Picardy*, which before was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the *Spaniards*, was sufficiently cover'd on that side; and on the contrary, *Flanders* lay open to the *French* Armies, which has since caused infinite losses to the *Spaniards*. However, the *French* Army was so extremely fatigu'd by this Siege, that they were not in a condition to make any farther attempts in the *Low Countries* this Campaign.

On the side of *Catalonia*, a fair opportunity presented it self to *France*, to make a much larger breach in the *Spanish* Monarchy. \* The Inhabitants of that Country, who are naturally but ill affected to the *Castilians*, had long before complained, that the Court of *Spain* did violate their Privileges; and the Count-Duke in particular had taken no care to oblige them. As the *Catalonians* did not love him, so he for his part hated them, and having found an occasion to mortify them, he embraced it with joy, and assign'd the Army, which had taken *Salces*, their Winter Quarters in *Catalonia*: for as they receiv'd no pay, there was no manner of insolence which they did not commit upon the poor *Catalonians*; who being in their temper none of the most patient, submissive people in the world, had frequent quarrels with the Soldiers, and at last came to a general insurrection, which obliged the *Spanish* Soldiers to retire to *Ampourdan*, and into *Ronsillon*. The Count de *St. Colome*, the Viceroy, altho he was a Native of that Country, was slain by the Harvest People near *Barcelona*, as he was ready to embark to avoid the fury of the Populace. This Assault, tho it was committed without premeditation, made the Magistrates of the City conclude, that the Count-Duke would not fail to make his best advantage of so plausible a pretence to satisfy his great hatred of the *Catalonians*, and to declare them fallen from all their Privileges;

\* See Siri  
Meic. T.  
1. p. 45.  
and the  
Mem. Rec.  
T. 8. p.  
814. and  
Aubery's  
Life of the  
Cardinal, l.  
6. c. 49.  
&c.

so that they thought their best way in this exigence would be to have recourse to *France*. They had formerly sent *Seminat* to d' *Espenan* Governor of *Lencate*, to know what assistance the *Catalonians* might expect from *France*, in case they declared against *Spain*.

d' *Espenan* writ to the Cardinal concerning it, \* who \* In the was then at *Amiens*, and immediately dispatched *Du Plessis Bezancon* with full power to negotiate in his Majesty's name with the *Catalonians*. He arrived at *Lencate*, and afterwards at *Barcelona*, where after he had offer'd the King's Protection to them, and had many conferences with several Members of the *Deputation of Catalonia*, who are the Magistrates of that Country, it was concluded, that to engage the King to send an Army into *Catalonia*, they should deliver him nine Hostages, three out of each Order; six of whom were to tarry at *Toulouse*, and three at Court, as Deputies of the Principality of *Catalonia*; that they should surrender up to the King two Gates of *Barcelona*, one on the side of *Tarragone*, and the other on the side of *Rosillon*: That the King should send a certain number of Troops both by Sea and Land. Thus they made a sort of a Treaty, which however was not signed, by reason of some difficulties which arose about it.

The Hostages departed shortly after with *Villaplana*, a *Catalonian*, and *Du Plessis*, and the first having left them with the Prince of *Conde*, and conferr'd with him, return'd to *Barcelona*, while the other pursued his way to the Court, to instruct the Cardinal in what condition the *Catalonians* were. In the mean time it being reported, that the *Spaniards* were preparing a powerful Army, Orders were sent to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to repair incessantly to *Provence*, to get the Fleet in readiness to sail as soon as possible; and to the Prince of *Conde*, to cause the Body which he commanded, to advance under d' *Espenan Marechal de Camp*, towards *Catalonia*. This last putting himself at the head of these Troops, entered into this Principality by *le Col de Pertuis*, even before the Treaty was signed, being urgently pressed by the *Catalonians*, by reason of the advice they received,

1640.

ceiv'd, that the *Spanish* Army was not far from their Frontiers. To prevail with him not to lose more time, they assured him that their Militia Forces were both numerous, and well disciplin'd, that they only wanted a General to head them, and that the *Spaniards* were extremely weak. So he marched directly towards *Barcelona* with three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, where he was received with extraordinary Acclamations. *Bezancon* arrived thither shortly after him, with orders from the Cardinal, in quality of Serjeant General *de Bataille*. In the mean time the *Spanish* Army having passed the *Ebre* at *Tortose*, drew near to *Tarragone*, where *d'Espenan* lay with seven or eight hundred Horse, and a *Catalonian* Regiment of the new Levies, waiting for the coming up of his own Regiment and that of *d'Enguien*. He afterwards repented for having advanced so far without the *French* Foot, when he was informed that the *Spaniards* had an Army of twenty five thousand men, and when he saw the *Catalonian* Militia fly before them. This Army was commanded by the Marquis *de los Velez*, nominated the Viceroy, and Captain General of *Catalonia*; and by the Marquis *de Torrecusa*, who was *Mestre de Camp* General, while the Duke *de St. George*, his Son, commanded the Cavalry.

*Bezancon*, who tarried all this while at *Barcelona*, at last concluded the Treaty with the *Catalonians*, and sent it to the Cardinal, who could scarce believe it was true, of so prodigious an importance did he look upon this Revolution to be. He afterwards bestowed the Title of Lieutenant General upon *Bezancon*, who being now arrived at *Tarragone*, proposed to *d'Espenan* to march out with his Horse, and come to joyn his Infantry, which was incamp'd within seven or eight leagues of him, and there to stay in some advantageous post for the arrival of the *Catalonian* Train-bands, that were gathering together in all parts, while the *Catalonian* Regiment of *St. Olavie*, with two Companies of Light Horse defended *Tarragone*, as very well they might. He represented to him how dangerous it was for a General of an Army

to

to be locked up in so bad a place as that was: But *Espeñan* would not listen to this wholesome advice, but sent to him to order the *French* Foot to advance immediately, and to press the *Catalonians* to put themselves in a condition to make a vigorous resistance. He imagin'd he should be able to defend *Tarragone*, as he had done *Salces*, but finding nothing in a manner ready, when he attack'd the *Spaniards*, he was oblig'd to capitulate, and promise to return into *France*, with all the *French* Forces that were in *Catalonia*, to save *Rosfeil* Commandant of the *Catalonian* Regiment, and the Standard of *Sr. Olavic*, which is the Standard General of the Country. He writ to *Bezancon* to come and confer with him upon the road, and told him he design'd to enter the Frontiers of *France*, to be as good as his word, and then immediately to come back to *Barcelona*. In spite of all that could be said to him, it was impossible to persuade him to stay longer in *Catalonia*, tho his retreat had like to have put the *Catalonians* in despair, and no less displeas'd the Cardinal, who had assuredly punish'd him for his Cowardice, had not the Prince of *Conde* interceded powerfully for him. The Deputation of *Catalonia* took all imaginable care to put *Barcelona* in a capacity of defending itself, lest they should see all they had most remarkable in this Principality, sacrificed on the sudden to the indignation of the *Castilians*. *Bezancon*, who was return'd to this City, and understood the Language of the Country, assisted them very much with his advice. We shall see the consequence of this affair, in the history of the events of the following year.

At the same time the \* *Portugueses* gave another \* See Siri blow to the Crown of *Spain*, by throwing off their *Merc. i. i.* Yoak, and placing the *Duke of Braganza*, under the T. i. p. name of *D. Juan IV.* upon the Throne. These people <sup>115.</sup> were so weary of the *Spanish* Government, that not one person took the party of the Catholick King; so that in the space of eight days, the *Castilians* were \* Aubery's obliged to quit *Portugal*, and yet not the least effusion <sup>Life of the</sup> of blood happen'd upon this occasion. 'Tis confi- <sup>Card. vol. 1</sup> dently reported that Cardinal \* *Richlieu* had some share <sup>6. c 64.</sup>



1640. in this great Revolution, and that finding the *Portugueses* were extremely disgusted at the insolence of the *Spaniards*, he dispatched one, whose name was *de Saint-Pe*, in the year 1638. with the Chancellor, Captain *George d' Azevedo*, and some others, to offer them the protection and assistance of *France*, in case they were minded to turn out the *Spaniards*. He was further to add, that if the Duke of *Braganza* would take the Crown upon him, the King would not be displeased at it, but otherwise he would send to them an Heir of the last Kings into *Portugal*. Whether these offers inspir'd the *Portugueses* with courage or no, 'tis certain that after their insurrection, the afore-said *St. Pe* resided at *Lisbon* in quality of Consul of *France*, with instructions containing two advices, which he was ordered to present to the new King from the part of the Cardinal. The first was, that the Ambassador who was to be sent into *France*, to communicate this Revolution to the King, should have full power to treat about the assistance which should be demanded of his Majesty, that so it might be sent without delay. The second, That D. *Juan* was not to sleep upon this happy success which he met with at first, but make all necessary preparations out of hand to offer War to the *Spaniards* both by Sea and by Land, and to support himself by Alliances with those that were inclin'd to favour his cause.

\* Sirl

Mem. Rec.

T. 8. P.

833.

Ever since the beginning of the same year, the \* Princes of *Savoy* had made several Proposals of agreement with the Dutchess, tho for all that the Hostilities ceased on neither side in *Piedmont*, or even between the Cittadel and Town of *Turin*. *Feragelli* the Pope's Secretary, who was come to *Turin* to assist the Nuncio in perswading the different parties to a Peace, did likewise propose a Truce for some years between *France* and the *Milanese*; and altho the Marquis *de Leganex* seem'd dispos'd to accept of it, yet he made great preparations to take the Field, before the *French* recruits could pass the Mountains. The *French* too on their side used all imaginable diligence, and were not behind the *Spaniards* in talking of a Peace or a Truce.



All these discourses only tended to render themselves odious to one another, and to lull one another asleep if it were possible. The Cardinal was of opinion, that Prince *Thomas* in particular only talked of an accommodation to ingratiate himself with the People of *Piedmont*, who had this long while languished for a Peace, and to make his Sister-in-law odious to them. He sent therefore to acquaint her, that this Prince kept a private correspondence with some Officers of her Household. The Prince proposed to make a Treaty with her by herself, without having regard to the Interests of *France*; but she scornfully rejected this Proposal, as she herself related the story to *de la Cour*, adding that she was resolved to follow the Cardinal's advice, altho he had treated her with a great deal of rigour at *Grenoble*, and that she would not cease to love him, as much as the King did, and as much as so great, and so excellent a Minister deserved.

Thus she communicated to him all the Proposals of Agreement made to her by Prince *Thomas*. As soon as he saw them he rejected them as impertinent, and immediately dispatched the Abbot \* *Mondin* to acquaint the Dutchess with his sentiments. He had Orders to tell her, that the King did not understand how any people durst be so bold as to engage her to sign such a Treaty as this was, without consulting his Majesty who was her only Protector, and wondered that she did not perceive that they aimed at nothing but her destruction; That she ought to break off all these Negotiations, and declare that she would not enter into any Treaty, which was not equally secure and honourable to the Duke her Son, and to herself; That otherwise she would only destroy herself, and ruine her State; That in the Declaration she was to publish upon this occasion, she must take care to insert all the most advantageous circumstances for herself, which were to be found in any of her Negotiations with Prince *Thomas*, and that whoever should mention this affair to her any more, should be obliged to retire. Besides this, he was ordered to press the Dutchess to turn Father *Monod* out of *Montme-*

\* In April.  
See his Instructions dated the 20 of that Month, in the Collection of Aubertin. T. 2. p. 313.

1640. *liav.* The \* Cardinal writ to her much to the same purpose, and remonstrated to her that her Brothers-in-law did only design to trepan her, as she herself had observed. In the beginning of his Letter he assured her, that the King desired nothing more earnestly than to see her well re-established in her Dominions, and maintain a good intelligence with her Brothers-in-law; that his Majesty would be always ready to restore back the places which he held in *Piedmont*, as soon as the *Spaniards* would fairly part with what they had in their possession, so that the Dutchess might for the future remain absolute Mistress of them; That nevertheless the security of her person, and that of the Duke her Son, being the principal cause which ought to be considered, the King would never consent, that either one or the other, should fall into the hands of those persons, whose interest obliged them to destroy both.

\* *Ibid.* p.  
812.

While the *French* were thus negotiating with the Dutchess of *Savoy*, the *Spaniards* held a close correspondence with the Dutchess of *Mantua*, and it was with her consent, that the Marquis de *Leganez* attempted the Siege of *Casal*. He began to invest this place on the 8th of *April*, with fourteen thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, at a juncture when the *French* were scarce able to defend the Cittadel of *Turin*, against Prince *Thomas*, who attack'd it on the side of the Town. The Princes of *Savoy* did earnestly wish that he would have helped them to take this Cittadel, because by the reducing of it they had effectually establish'd their authority in *Piedmont*, which must needs be in a tottering condition, so long as the Cittadel of the Capital City held out for the Duke their Nephew. Besides this, they could not behold *Casal* in the hands of the *Spaniards* without extreme regret. But the very same reasons perswaded *Leganez* to undertake this Siege, and push it on with all imaginable vigour, because it was of the highest importance to *Spain* that these Princes should be still dependent upon that Crown, and *Casal* was very proper to retain the people of *Piedmont* in their duty. Nor was this all, for he began to suspect these Princes for

for the frequent proposals of Accommodation they made to their Sister-in-law; and was of opinion that the only reason why they so much desired to have the Cittadel of *Turin* in their hands, was that they might compound more advantageously for themselves, without having any consideration to the Interests of *Spain*. 1640.

These were the motives which engaged *Leganez* to undertake the Siege of *Casal*, against the sentiments of the greatest part of the Officers of his Army, who did not look upon him to be strong enough for such an attempt. He mightily depended upon a secret intelligence he held in the place, but it fell out unluckily for him, that *de la Tour* the Governor of that City, discovered it, and put every thing in such good order betimes, that he must expect to reduce it no other way but by main force. At the same time the Governor having given the Count *d' Harcourt* advice of this design, that General used all his endeavours to bring his Troops together as soon as he was able, in order to raise the Siege, and at the same time sent word to the Court, that he was resolved to put this enterprize in execution, or else to dye before the place. He likewise demanded, that the Troops which were design'd for *Piedmont*, should instantly advance, and that they would take care to furnish him with all things necessary for a Campaign. The Cardinal was at a Play when this news came to him, and was surprized at the boldness of the undertaking, however he did not think fit to dissuade him from it; on the other hand he told *Correro*, the *Venetian* Ambassador who sat near him, that he would not trouble himself to give the Count any farther advice about it; that the thing was already done, and that he had great reason to hope good success from it, by reason of the good conduct and bravery of the General. Thus the Count having received a promise at *Pignerol* to be immediately relieved, marched with seven thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and ten pieces of Cannon directly to *Casal*, altho the *Spaniards* were almost double the number. The Marquis *de Leganez* had not as yet compleated his Lines of Circumvallation,

1640.

tion, when he receiv'd advice that the Count *d'Harcourt* was coming towards him. Upon this he orders some Pioneers out of the *Milaneze* with all speed to labour on the Works, and in the mean time embarks his heavy Baggage and Artillery, to be carried by the *Po* to *Breme*, in case he should not be able to oblige the *French* to retire. He likewise attack'd the Castle of *Roffignan*, within some leagues of *Casal*, but his men were repulsed with loss. The Count's Army appeared on the 28th of *April*, and skirmished with the Advance Guards of the *Spaniards*, as they were going to take a view of the *Spanish* Lines on the side of *Frassinet*. He attack'd them the next day, after he had beaten off some Troops that would have hinder'd his passage over the *Gastola*, which falls into the *Po* near *Frassinet*. He made three attacks, one of which was commanded by the Viscount *de Turenne*, the other by the Count *du Plessy-Pralain*, and the third by *la Mothe Houdancourt*. *Du Plessy-Pralain* thrice attack'd the Lines of the Enemy on his side, but he was as often repulsed, by reason of the great depth of the Ditch. But the Count *d'Harcourt* finding it easier to effect it upon the left, where he was, pushed his Horse forward with that vigour, that he was the first that leapt into the Enemy's Lines; but those that were to have followed him, being not so well mounted, could not enter along with him, so that for some time he found himself all alone exposed to the firing of the Enemy. In the mean time *La Mothe* found a more easie place to pass over, within some paces of it, and entred with his Cavalry, to which the Count went and joyn'd himself. At the head of this Body he charged the *Spanish* Horse with so much impetuosity that they immediately gave way. He had his Horse kill'd under him in this occasion, but was soon re-mounted upon one belonging to a Captain of the Light Horse, whom he took Prisoner (with his own hand. Not long after, as he pursued the Enemy down their Line, his Horse stuck fast in a miry ditch, so that he was not able to disengage himself from this embarras, but by leaving one of his Boots, his Hat, and one of his Pistols behind him. Being once more

re-



re-mounted, he continued to beat back the *Spaniards*, that they might not have time to recover their disorder. *Turenne* and *Pralain* on their side return'd with their Foot to give the fourth Charge, and forced the Lines, after which they bore down all they met, notwithstanding all the fire which the Enemy made upon them. The Cavalry of the Besieged did likewise joyn that of the Count, and then the Marquis *de Leganez* thought of nothing but how to make a retreat to *Frassinet*; which he performed with a body of four thousand Horse, and by that means gave his Foot an opportunity to draw off; and as part of them had not been concerned in the battel, they might have made a Body sufficient to repel the *French*, in case they had had time to range themselves in Battel, but they pursu'd them so near, that they put them in disorder. Several of the *Spaniards* out of fear threw themselves into the *Po*, where great numbers of them were drown'd, and the night saved the rest. Others withdrew in the same confusion to *Pontefure*, and had no better luck. The *Spaniards* lost five thousand men in this rencounter, eight pieces of Cannon, six Mortars, all their Ammunition, which themselves set on fire, and a great part of their Baggage. *Leganez* had not so much precaution as to save his Papers, so that there was found in his Tent the secret Treaty he had made with the Dutchess of *Mantua*, concerning *Casal*, and some Lands which the House of *Savoy* held in *Montferrat*, and he thought to have taken from them. The Count *d'Harcourt* in this occasion acquir'd the reputation of one of the bravest and most resolute Generals which *France* had sent out of a long time, altho in reality this was a very rash action. The importance of the place which he saved, made the world willing to excuse a boldness which would have been blamed in any other occasion. On the contrary, the Marquis *de Leganez* was accused to have equally wanted bravery and courage. It was <sup>\* See the</sup> certainly a gross <sup>Siege of Ca-</sup> Solecism, to stay within his Lines, <sup>sal and Tu-</sup> which were of a prodigious length, and enclosed a <sup>rin by E-</sup> very uneven ground, and there to wait for an En- <sup>manuel</sup> my, which he might have defeated in a plain field; <sup>Telsa-ro.</sup> and



1640. and in the heat of the Action he was so strangely discomposed, that he abandoned his quarter, which the Count *d' Harcourt* attackt, and in half an hours time sent seven different orders to his men.

\* Siri  
Mem. Rec. After so considerable an \* advantage, the King dis-  
T. 8. p. swaded his Sister more than ever from listning to the  
885. See proposals of accommodation which Prince *Thomas*  
Aubery's made her; and sent word to Count *Philip d' Aglie*,  
Mem. T. who was supposed to incline the Dutchess to a Trea-  
2. p. 816. ty, that as he might hope every thing from his libe-  
rality, if he served his Sister well, so he might expect  
to feel his resentments in a heavy manner, if he be-  
haved himself otherwise. The King likewise promi-  
sed the Dutchess to beat her Enemies without inter-  
mission in *Piedmont*, till such time as he had entirely  
turn'd them out of that Country; and to send her  
with all convenient speed such forces as should be  
necessary to do it.

\* The 21st  
of May. At the same time the Cardinal \* writ a very earnest  
Letter to her, wherein he shew'd her the great pre-  
judice she would do the Duke her Son, and herself,  
if she engag'd in any negotiation with the Princes  
her Brothers-in-law, while they were masters of *Tu-  
rin*; and the great danger she run if she went into  
*Piedmont* for that end, as they desired her, at a time  
when they were too strong for her there. The best  
advice he could give her at this juncture, was to  
make the most of the Troops she could, and  
to send them with all speed to the Count *d' Har-  
court*, who laboured with so much ardour to effect  
the deliverance of *Piedmont*. The Cardinal did also  
congratulate the Dutchess, that she had at last pro-  
vided for the security of *Montmelian*, by ordering  
*F. Monod* to leave that place.

\* The 28th  
of May. A few days after \*, instructions were sent to the  
Count *d' Harcourt*, to let him know that he was to  
reject all proposals of Peace from Prince *Thomas*, till  
such time as *Turin* was re-taken; that if he could take  
*Turin* and Prince *Thomas* himself, without too much  
exposing the Kings Army, he should undertake that  
before any expedition whatever; but if he saw he  
should run too great a risque, he might enter into  
some

some composition, provided his Majesty's Troops were receiv'd into *Turin*, and the Authority of his Ministers and Generals was not limited there, any more than that of the *Spaniards* in the places they had taken. Unless this were granted, he was wholly forbidden to hear the least mention of any Agreement, or to retard any of the operations of the War; but if the Prince would espouse the party of *France*, he was order'd to promise him all sorts of advantages.

In the mean time the Dutches of *Savoy* was so far from following the Cardinal's advice, in relation to the Troops she was to send to the Count d' *Harcourt*, that she kept even those that were in his Majesty's pay, near her person, as if she had been afraid that the *French Army* had made too great a progress. The Cardinal highly complain'd to her of this procedure by \* *de la Tour*, and represented to her how great an injury she did to the publick affairs, as well as to her own in particular by this negligence. *Chavigny* likewise sent a \* Memorial to the same purpose, where among other things he took occasion to tell her, that it was the opinion of the Court, that there was no necessity to turn *F. Monod* out of the place where he had been shut up, unless it had been done with a design to send him to *France*. This Jesuit it seems had been carried to the Castle of *Miolans*, where the Ambassador was order'd to take care, that he should be well guarded, and that no body should be admitted to speak to him.

The Count d' *Harcourt*, after he had deliver'd *Casal* in so glorious a manner, now bethought himself of executing the orders he had received to besiege *Turin*, and he marched thither with so great diligence, that on the 9th of *May* he came in sight of the place. He had only seven thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse with him, reckoning the recruits which came to him. \* However after he had seized of the *Faux-bourg* of the *Po*, and some advantageous Posts about *Tesauero* in *Turin*, he marked out the quarters on the 16th of that month, and caus'd his men to work upon the Lines of Circumvallation. When they were finish'd, he push'd on the Siege with as much vigour, as could be expected from so small an Army.

The

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\* See his Letter on the 9th of June, p. 821. of T. 2. of Aubery's Memoirs. \* Ibid. p. 822.

\* See the detail of this Siege in Eman. bis Torino assediato & non soccorso.

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The Marquis *de Leganez* having received advice at *Verceil*, whether he retired after his defeat, of the Count's designs, advanced in hopes to retaliate his late beating, and on the 26th encamped on the other side the *Po*, upon the Hills near *Quiers*, with eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. After he had at his leisure viewed the *French* Lines, he believ'd it was not possible to force them, and that it would be better for him to endeavour to cut off their Provisions, to oblige them to raise the Siege for fear of Famine, which he hoped would soon make their Camp uneasy to them. Thus on the 9th of *July* he order'd twelve hundred men to pass the *Po* near *Moncalier*, where they retrenched themselves to hinder any Victuals from coming to them that way. But soon after the Vicount *de Turenne* attacked them, forced them, cut one half of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to swim the *Po*, into which they threw themselves in great confusion. This Post, as it was of the last consequence to the design of *Leganez*, he came up thither with his whole Army, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the *French*, yet they were not able to make the *Spaniards* quit it. By this means he shut up the passage for all manner of relief and provisions, that could come by the way of *Pignerol*. After this he sent *D. Charles de la Gatta*, to post himself at *Colegno*, to block up the way of *Susa*, lest the *French* should be relieved that way. In a short time the Provisions in the Camp were all consumed, and the Army was forced to subsist upon those that were in the Magazines in the Cittadel; so that the *French* were in danger, if they were not speedily relieved, to perish by Famine, and to abandon *Turin*. The Soldiers had their Victuals distributed among them with great Oeconomy, when they receiv'd advice that succours were arriv'd at *Pignerol*. This hope made the Souldiers combat with equal bravery against the Sallies of the Besieged, which were often very vigorous, and against the worst of enemies, Famine. It was an inexcusable oversight in the Chief Minister not to have prevented this inconvenience, by making timely Magazines for provisions at *Pignerol* or *Susa*.  
*Leganez*

*Leganez* being inform'd of the arrival of this relief, was afraid they would force their passage, and so render all his labours ineffectual: For which reason he resolv'd to give a general Assault to the *French Lines*, while *Prince Thomas* should make a vigorous Sally. To effect this, they assign'd the 11th of July, and *Leganez* was to attack the Count's Quarter, while *La Gatta* fell upon that of *La Mothe*. The latter had then four thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse; and the Marquis had the same number of Horse, and five thousand Foot.

The day being come, *La Gatta*, without staying for the hour appointed, attackt the Quarter of *La Mothe*, fill'd up his Ditches, and broke in with his Body into the *French Lines*; but instead of beating them, as he had begun, along the Circumvallation, and hindering *La Mothe* from rallying, he march'd strait into the City with two hundred Horse and a thousand Foot, without troubling himself whether the Enemy made any opposition against those that followed him. In the mean time, *La Mothe* having rallied his Troops, cut the rest in pieces, and defeated those that conducted the Powder and Ammunition, which *La Gatta* was to throw into *Turin*, and which they wanted more than they did men. Those that escap'd sav'd themselves in disorder at *Colegno*; and thus for want of discretion in this General, they lost a fair opportunity of utterly ruining the *French Army*. As for the Marquis *de Leganez*, it was too late before he attack'd the Count *d'Harcourt's* Quarter, and after he had spent four hundred Cannon-shot all the day long against it, he was twice repulsed, nay, and pursued by the *French* out of their Lines. However, *Prince Thomas* and *La Gatta* made a Sally with four hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and made themselves Masters of *Valentin*; which news being brought to *Leganez*, he brought his men back again to the Onset: But the Count, who had seen by the preceding Attacks that there was little danger to apprehend from so harmless an Enemy, sent part of his Souldiers against *Prince Thomas*, and at the same time sustain'd the attack of *Leganez*, and forc'd the



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the Prince to retire into the Town again. He for his part complain'd that *Leganez* had not given him the Signal that was agreed upon, when he attackt the *French*, that so he might have made a vigorous Sally against them at the same time, as was projected: But the *Spaniards* said that the discharge of the Artillery and Musquet shot might easily have made Prince *Thomas* to comprehend when their attack began.

Next day the Vicount *de Turenne* and the Count *de Tonnero* arriv'd from *Pignerol*, with six thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, and provisions for the Army. The Marquis *de Leganez* return'd to his ancient Post, and *Don Charles della Gatta* wanting forrage in *Turin*, thought of nothing else but how to get out of the Town as soon as it was possible. This he vainly endeavour'd to do on the 23d and 31st of *July*, being constrain'd to return back again into the place.

In the mean time the *French* lock'd up *Turin* closer and closer still, and Prince *Thomas* was at a loss how to inform *Leganez* of what he wanted, or what measures to take with him, when an Engineer of *Bergamo*, whose name was *Zignon* according to some, or according to others *Francis Gallo*, Valet de Chambre to Prince *Thomas*, furnished him with an expedient to render a correspondence between the Town and

\* See Sir's *Spanish* Camp very easie \*. As *Leganez* was within Mem. Rec. Cannon shot of him, he was advis'd to make hollow T. 8. p. Cannon Bullets, in which he was to close up the Letters which he had a mind to send from the City to the Camp of *Leganez*, or from the Camp to the City; and to stop up the hole with Lead. Before he shot it, he gave him a signal by some lighted powder, to let him know that he must take care of the Bullet. 'Tis said they used the same Stratagem in the *Spanish* Camp, and threw into the Town Bombs full of Powder, which those of the Town took up in the Ditch; to take out the Powder that they had occasion for. The Citizens of *Turin* made use of the same expedient to acquaint their Friends in the *Spanish* Camp with what they had a desire to communicate to them; and this was the reason why they call'd these Billets the flying Conriers.

By



By the same way Prince *Thomas* agreed with the Marquis *de Leganez*, to make a vigorous Sally on the 14th of *September*, with four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, while at the same time the *Spaniards* attackt them on their side. The Prince did not fail to Sally at the time appointed, and made himself master of some Redoubts of the *French*, and a Bridge which they had thrown over the *Po*: But the Count *d' Harcourt* regain'd these Posts, because the *Spaniards* did not appear, and forc'd the Prince to enter *Turin* again, after the loss of three hundred men. *Leganez*, who being deceiv'd by the narrow Valleys through which he was to march, did not think the way was so far as it really was, arriv'd too late, the Prince, who despair'd of seeing him, having already made his retreat. Thus he return'd without doing any thing, and thought no more of relieving the place, as those within the Town, ever since this defeat, thought of nothing more, than how to make the most honourable Capitulation for themselves that they could. The King and the Cardinal had design'd to send *Mazarine* thither, to negotiate with the Princes of *Savoy*; but the Count *d' Harcourt* being inform'd of it, was not willing that another should take that honour out of his hands, after he had taken so much pains to regulate the Capitulation of that place. It was therefore agreed on the 22d of *September*, that Prince *Thomas* should either surrender the City of *Turin* to him, or re-establish the Regence of the Dutchess, and the Sovereignty of the Duke her Son; that all hostilities should cease, and that Hostages should be given on both sides, till Prince *Thomas* had retir'd with his Troops, and all his Baggage, where he should see convenient. He withdrew to *Turres*, and the Count *d' Harcourt* entred *Turin*, before *Mazarine* could arrive there. Thus in the compass of two years he acquir'd the reputation of the bravest and most happy General, that had for a long time commanded the *French* Army, altho he was far from having all the experience requisite for War. But his rashness and good fortune, join'd to the cowardice and want of conduct in the Enemy, supplied the place

1640. of capacity and experience. The Count *du Plessy Pralain* was made Governour of *Turin*, where he put a French Garrison of four thousand men; after which the Dutchess came to this City with the Duke her Son. The Princes of *Savoy* did \* accommodate their matters soon after with *France* and with their Sister-in-law. But the particular Articles of their Agreement having no relation to the life of our Cardinal, I shall pass them over in silence.

\* See the  
Mem. of  
Aub. i.  
II. p. 833,  
&c.

\* The 30  
of Dec. Si-  
ri Mem.  
Rec. T. 8.  
p. 877.  
\* See the  
former, p.  
380.

Before the \* year was expired, the Cardinal made the Dutchess of *Savoy*, and Count *Philip d' Aglie* sensible, that he had not forgot the opposition they made him at \* *Grenoble*, when he was so earnest to have the Dutchess surrender up *Montmelian* to his Majesty. He sent a secret Commission to *Mazarine*, who was at *Turin*, so to manage affairs as without the least noise to get the Count apprehended; with orders not to communicate it to the Count *d' Harcourt* nor to *Du Plessy Pralain*, till just upon the point of execution, when they were to give necessary orders to effect it. *Mazarine*, that he might perform this with the greater ease, engag'd the principal persons belonging to the Court of *Turin*, and the *French* that were there, to regale one another by turns, every evening. Count *Philip* was one of the number, and when it came to the Count *Du Plessy Pralain's* turn, whose lodgings were not far from the Castle, some Souldiers were order'd to be in readiness to execute something that was to be done. Count *Philip*, who did not in the least dream of such an entertainment, went to *Du Plessy's* house, where he was put in a Coach and hurried into the Cittadel, and from thence to *Pignerol*, without any permission or order from the Dutchess, who complain'd in vain of the affront done to the Sovereignty of the Duke her Son.

\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. I. 8.  
p. 883.

Towards the end of this year, the \* Cardinal, weary of the differences he had with the Court of *Rome*, upon the account of the Mareschal *d' Estrees*, whose violent and fiery temper was not at all suited to this slow deliberate way of proceeding, got this affair at last to be accommodated, designing soon after to call the Mareschal home. \* 'Tis reported that the Cardinal

nal had it then in his thoughts to destroy the *Calvinist* Religion entirely, and that he had explain'd himself upon this Chapter more than once to Chancellor *Seignier*. He propos'd to have a Conference with the Ministers, wherein he hoped to carry them whither he pleased. But lest it should have the same success with the famous Conference of *Poissy*, he was resolv'd to secure himself before-hand of fourscore Ministers, who, joyn'd to those that perhaps might suffer themselves to be reduced by his arguments, would bring over, as he imagined, the greatest part of the *Hugonots*. As for the rest, he pretended to employ the Royal Authority, and so either make Profelytes of them by dint of ill usage, or if he could not otherwise accomplish his end, to turn them out of the Kingdom. He believed that very few Families would rather chuse to abandon their native Country, and see their admission into it for ever lock'd up against them, than to embrace the Catholick Religion; That it would be a difficult matter for them to resolve to wander like fugitives through the World, to find out a sanctuary to receive them: That they would find insuperable hardships in selling off their goods, either because there would not be buyers enough to take them off their hands, or because they must be forced to part with them at too low a price; That altho. there might be some reason to suspect the sincerity of the New Converts, yet their Children, sucking the Catholic Religion with their Milk, would be really perswaded of the truth of it. The better to effect this design, he was of opinion that this Assembly was to be prevail'd upon in the first place to declare, that a man might be saved in both Churches. Because if the *Hugonots* were once satisfied of that, they would sooner chuse to turn Catholics, so to avoid the miseries they were to suffer, if they still continued in their *Calvinism*, than blindly to adhere to the latter, by rejecting a Religion, wherein nevertheless they believed that a man might be saved. After this manner did this Minister reason, who imagin'd that other people had no more Religion than himself. Part of this project has been since followed in *France*, and

1.640. we find by experience, that contrary to what the Cardinal expected, a prodigious number of Families thought it better to leave the Kingdom than to turn. Those persons that have studied these matters a little, know that the generality of mankind are strangely wedded to the opinions they learnt in their infancy, especially when they appear to be more consonant to reason, and more agreeable to truth, than the opposite doctrines which some people would have them embrace. But this was the Cardinals blind side, and his Talent did not lye in these sort of speculations.

\* Ibid.

He likewise fell upon another \* project, no less difficult to be effected than the former, and that was to make himself Patriarch of *France*. He thought himself already secur'd of the greatest part of the Bishops, and to bring the Monks over to his side he design'd to be Abbot General of the three most powerful Orders, that so he might have wherewithal to gain the suffrages of the Religious. But the Court of *Rome* being thoroughly satisfied of his ambitious designs, he could never procure his Bulls, notwithstanding all his instances and sollicitations to obtain them; so that wholly despairing to compass his intentions, this fancy left him, or at least he carried it with him to the grave. Thus he never thought any more of this project, for in truth it requir'd another sort of a man than himself; who, as he was generally hated, so he had most infallibly perish'd under the weight of this attempt; which, tho he had been possessed of the love and esteem of the whole Kingdom, he would have found a most difficult matter to have ever accomplish'd.

On the 21st of *September* the King had another Son, who was call'd at first the Duke of *Anjou*, but after the death of *Gaston*, had the Title of the Duke of *Orleans*. The Queen had not a jot the more authority for this; Nay, 'tis confidently said, that the \* Cardinal had extorted a promise from the King, that in case he came to dye, and declared the Queen to be Regent, he would make him Chief of the Council of the Regence, with orders to the Queen to follow his advice.

\* Sir I Mer.

T. 2. L. 2.

P. 142

This



This year the Master of the Horse had like to have fallen into disgrace with the King, and tho the Minister had some reasons to be dissatisfied with his conduct, which afterwards revived, as we shall see in the series of the History, yet he did not forbear to use all his interest to reconcile him to the King. The Master of the Horse had a Mistress at *Paris*, whose name was *Marie de l'Orme*, whom he went in all haste to visit, as soon as the King was gone to bed; so that when the King got up, which he frequently did very early in the morning, and enquir'd after him, they told him he was not stirring yet: This made the King frequently blame him for his idleness, but he was not able to cure him of it. Afterwards arriving to the knowledge of this private amour, the King forbid him to see that Lady, to whom, as the report ran, he was secretly married. As she was not of a Quality equal to that of the Master of the Horse, and besides had but an inconsiderable fortune, his Relations were extremely averse to this Match, and his Majesty in favour of them oppos'd it likewise, besides that he did not care that his Favourites should be married. Whether it was, that *Cinq-Mars* was naturally of a rough uncomplaisant humour, or whether he fancied himself to have so great an ascendant over the Kings inclinations, that it was not possible for his affection to alter, whenever his Majesty reprimanded him for his faults, he answer'd him with very little respect. Upon this account the King forbid him to appear before him, so that he shut himself up in his Chamber for some days, under pretence of a Feavor.

The Cardinal did all he could upon this occasion to accommodate matters between his Majesty and the Master of his Horse; and as he was at *Ruel*, and the King at *St. Germain*, he writ a Letter to the King, and gave the Pacquet to *Cinq-Mars*, to deliver it to his Majesty. The King having read the Cardinals Letter, thus directed himself to the Master of the Horse, *The Cardinal has here sent me word, says he, that you have testified a great desire to comply with me in every thing, and yet you don't amend as to one particular,*



1641. which I desired him to re-mind you of, and that is your idleness. Instead of promising the King that he would amend that fault for the future, *Cinq-Mars* answer'd that he could not reform as to that point. Upon this the King replyed, *A man of your condition, who ought to render himself worthy to command an Army, and who has assured me that he design'd such a thing, must above all things avoid Idleness, as altogether destructive to his reputation.* *Cinq-Mars* bluntly answer'd, that he never had any pretensions that way, and the King maintain'd the contrary; after which he proceeded in his discourse, telling him that Idleness made a man incapable of every thing that was commendable; that it was only good for the people of *Mavais*, among whom he was bred up, who entirely abandon'd themselves to their pleasures; and that if he design'd to continue that sort of life, he must return to them again. The Master of the Horse replied in a great heat, that he was ready to return thither. Well, says the King, if I were not wiser than you, I know what answer I should return to what you have said. He added, that *Cinq-Mars* having those great obligations to him which he had, ought not to treat him after such a fashion; when the Master of the Horse, with his usual good address and civility answer'd, that as he was always ready to serve the King, so he was as ready to leave him; and that he should be full as content to be *Cinq-Mars*, as *Monsieur le Grand*, and that he could not change his way of living. The King and he continu'd to pique at one another all the way to the Castle, till they arriv'd in the very Court, where the King told him, that considering the humour he was in at present, he would mightily oblige him not to come near him. So the Master of the Horse withdrew, and did not appear before the King for some days.

One may see by this boysterous and insolent behaviour, that *Cinq-Mars* was not born to continue long in this advantageous Post to which the Cardinal got him advanced; and that *Lewis XIII.* was not a Prince extremely impatient, since he could suffer a young fellow to talk to him after such a manner. In the mean

mean time the \* Cardinal took care to appease the Kings anger, at the repeated instances of *Cinq-Mars*; and the King and his Favourite liv'd together as formerly. The Minister was extremely glad to make the Favourite every day more and more dependant upon himself, in becoming wholly necessary to him to maintain him in the Kings favour. By this means he continued to know all his Majesty's secret thoughts, who, reserved and close as he was in relation to all others, yet frequently open'd the most hidden inclinations of his Soul to his Favourites. Nay, tho he was never so much minded to conceal what lay within him, yet his Favourites, by putting him upon certain subjects, were able to sound his true sentiments, notwithstanding all the dissimulation he was master of; so that the Cardinal being perfectly inform'd of all occurrences, knew how to regulate his conduct accordingly. Altho the King intrusted him with the administration of all his affairs, yet he was desirous to be made acquainted with every thing, and could not forbear to express his displeasure, if he knew that any thing was kept hid from him; or at least he shew'd his dissatisfaction, when he entertain'd himself in private with his Favourites; and the Cardinal took care to appease him by some flatteries, which he mingled, as he saw convenient, in his discourse.

\* *Cinq-Mars* being thus reconciled to the King, \* *SiriMer.* imagined now that he had nothing more to fear, tho T. 1. p. 563. his Majesty expressly told him, that if the Cardinal once came to be against him, he would abandon him for ever. The King having taken care that those that were about him should acquaint the Cardinal with all that he said, was sometimes pleas'd to find himself encompass'd by Spies: but the great occasion he had for his Ministry, and the high esteem he had for his capacity, hindered him from removing these people from him, altho he did by no means affect them. However, that he might have one near his person, to whom he might freely open his sentiments, he made the Master of the Horse swear to him, that he would never acquaint the Cardinal with what he should tell him. This Minister was soon sensible that

1641. Master of the Horse did not come, as he had been accustomed, to inform him of what pass near the King, so he began at first to suspect him, and at last form'd a design to ruine him, on the very first occasion that presented it self. The Cardinal's Enemies having observed the coldness between them, did not fail to insinuate into the Master of the Horse, that the Minister was ill affected to him, and only wanted a fair opportunity to destroy him. *Cinq-Mars*, who on his side did not naturally love his Benefactor, look'd upon his Grandeur as an obstacle to his own, and did him no more good offices to his Majesty. This Prince being now satisfied, that *Cinq-Mars* carried no more tales to the Cardinal, had a greater affection for him than ever, and resolv'd to have him admitted into the Privy Council. One day when he was at *Rehbel*, the Councillors entred the Council Chamber with the Cardinal, to hold a Council there, and as the Courtiers withdrew to leave them their places, and *Cinq-Mars* follow'd them, the King stop't him, and turning himself towards the Cardinal, *That my dear friend here*, says he, meaning the Master of the Horse, *may be able to serve me one day, I think it convenient that he should without further delay instruct himself in the affairs of my Council.* The Cardinal, who knew well enough that it was to no purpose for him directly to oppose the Kings pleasure, did not show the least resentment at that time, and so held a Council, but took care that nothing of importance should be there propos'd. But the day following, he represented to the King, the ill effects such an innovation as this might produce, and the great injury he did his own reputation, as well as that of the Council, if it should be said that nothing of any consequence could be debated there, unless such a young man as the Master of the Horse, was one of the number. This remonstrance of the Cardinal made so deep an impression upon the King, that he did not permit *Cinq-Mars* to come into the Council Chamber any more.

From that time the secret hatred which the Master of the Horse bore the Cardinal, broke out in public, and these occasions of discontent which this Minister lately

lately gave him, wrought a greater force upon the mind of an ambitious young man, than all the services he had formerly done him. However, the King labour'd to reconcile them, and outwardly they seem'd to be as hearty friends as ever. But soon after they fell out, and the occasion arose from the Favourite's desiring the King to make him a Duke and a Peer, that he might marry the Princess *Mary of Mantua*, who would not accept of him but upon that condition. Having open'd this affair to the Cardinal, who he foolishly imagin'd would comply with his desires, this Minister tax'd him with imprudence and presumption, setting before his eyes what he had done to raise his Father and himself from the simple rank of Gentlemen, to the present degree of honour they enjoy'd. *Cinq-Mars*, who was of no less haughty a Spirit than the Cardinal, could not hear him talk thus but with the greatest indignation, and began to cabal with all his power, to ruine his Patron and Benefactor. He engag'd in his Interests *Francis de Thou*, Son to the famous *James Augustin de Thou*. \* He was a most accomplish'd man in respect of all those qualities that are requir'd in a Gentleman of the Long Robe, and being either a relation or a friend to several of those that resent'd the effects of the Cardinals hatred, besides that this Minister had hinder'd him from being made one of the Councillors of State; after he had for some time consider'd of the matter, at last espoused the party of the Master of the Horse, and engaged the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bouillon* to countenance his designs. There was the greater probability of succeeding, because the King had express'd himself to be particularly desirous of a Peace, to put an end to all those calamities and disorders, which the private interests of his Minister had stirr'd up in the Kingdom. The King had likewise frown'd upon several of the Cardinals creatures, whom he did indeed esteem and fear, but did not really love at the bottom; As for *Cinq-Mars*, he was now perfectly in the King's favour, and this brought abundance of persons over to his party.

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\* Sir Mers  
T. 2. p.  
167.



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In the mean time the Cardinal strengthen'd himself by an alliance with the House of *Conde*, by marrying *Claire-Clemence de Maille Breze*, daughter to the *Mareschal de Breze*, to the Duke of *Enguien*. 'Tis reported that the Prince of *Conde*, who had at first rejected this match when it came to be propos'd to him, suffered himself to be gain'd, partly by the great fortune which the Cardinal bestow'd upon his Niece, and partly out of fear, lest the Cardinal should ruine him, if he persisted any longer to despise an alliance with him. \* The Marriage was celebrated on the 7th T. 1. lib. of *February*, and a magnificent Ball was kept upon 2. p. 231. this occasion at the Cardinals Palace. This Ballet represented the prosperity of the Arms of *France*, and the Decorations of the Halls were changed five times, as well as the habits of the Actors. The first represented the Earth embellished with Forrests, and *Harmony* supported upon a Cloud, with abundance of Birds singing: The second discover'd the *Alps* cloath'd with Snow, with *Italy* upon a Mountain, and at a great distance *Arris* and *Casal*: The third shew'd the Sea environed with Rocks, and cover'd with Ships and Gallies, with three Sirens: The fourth an open Sky, from whence the Nine Muses descended; and the fifth the Earth adorn'd with Flowers, with *Concord* upon a gilded Chariot. The Theatre being changed into a magnificent Hall, the Queen, attended by all the Court, went to place herself at the upper end of it, and the Duke of *Enguien* taking her out to dance, the Ball began, and ended with a stately Collation of Sweet-meats. The Nuptials were afterwards celebrated on the 11th of the same month, with that magnificence which the Cardinal affected to show upon such occasions.

\* *Nil. p.*  
232.

During the diversifements of this \* Marriage, the Minister contriv'd to mortifie the Parliament of *Paris*, which had presumed more than once to make some opposition to his demands. Some weeks after the King assembled all the several Chambers, and came thither accompanied by the Princes of the Blood, several Dukes and Peers, and many eminent Lords of the Court. He there caus'd a Declaration to be read,



read, which prohibited the Parliament to concern themselves with any affairs of State, and commanded them to receive his Edicts, not to disapprove, but confirm them. The King farther declared, that he intended to take the absolute power into his hands of disposing of all the Offices of Parliament, and to reward with them such as pleased him; and at the same time deposed the President *Barillon*, and the Councillors *Scarron*, *Salé*, and some others that had been banisht before. He likewise ordained, that the Parliament every three months should give the Chancellor an account of what they did, and every year take out a permission from his Majesty to continue in their respective functions. By this the King absolutely destroyed the authority of the Parliament of *Paris*, as if they had abused their power, by opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the Cardinal. This Prince it seems imagined, that only himself and his Minister were interested in the preservation of the Kingdom, and thought nothing was just, but what this imperious Prelate pretended to be so.

Those that had the Courage to defend the Rights of Parliament, urged in vain, that the persons that composed it, had never pretended to be their Kings Tutors, nor to arrogate a power superior, or equal to theirs; nor to set up for *Tribunes of the People*, as their enemies injuriously accused them. They own'd themselves to be the Kings Subjects, and to derive their power from his Authority; but then they said, that a Secret of Policy lay concealed in the exercise of their Offices, which the Flatterers at Court were not acquainted with: That the ancient Kings of *France* being sensible that a pure Monarchy, where all the Laws depend upon the Will of one single person, were but of a short continuance, had wisely temper'd the form of Government, by mixing some appearance of an Aristocracy with it, and by establishing Laws, which they themselves were not allowed to violate, that so the People might with greater chearfulness submit to their sovereign authority: That for this end they had voluntarily submitted their own Edicts to the examination of the Parliament, that so they might fully be inform'd,

1641. inform'd, whether they contain'd any thing contrary to the known Laws, and Rules of Equity : That their Conscience and true Interest engaged them to observe these Laws impartially, and not to violate Justice ; That nevertheless, in case they were of opinion, that the Parliaments did not give them good counsel, they were still at liberty to have recourse to their absolute power, as it appeared by these terms in their Edicts, *For such is our good pleasure* : That Declarations are not address'd to the Parliaments out of pure formality, which was wholly unnecessary, but that the people might afterwards obey them without any repugnance : That it had been the antient policy of the Kings of *France*, to make all sorts of Graces depend upon themselves, but to see Justice administred in the Sovereign Courts : That this discharged the Kings from the Odium that might ensue upon the exercise of any severe act of Justice, and besides disengaged them, from the importunity of their Courtiers, who without this might lead them to commit several unjust things, highly prejudicial to the Welfare of their States.

To return now to foreign affairs ; ever since the beginning of the foregoing year, the Duke of *Lorraine* had demanded a Passport of the King to come to Court, out of hopes he might obtain the possession of his Dominions, by giving some satisfaction to his Majesty ; and it was at last \* granted him in very advantageous terms. Another was dispatch'd to him some \* months after, and yet he did not come to Court as was expected. \* The Cardinal, who by his natural inclination to invade the Rights of others, without considering the ill consequences that might follow, had seized upon the Dukedom of *Lorraine*, some years before, found by experience, that this conduct had extremely sunk his Reputation, but especially in *Italy*, where there was not a Prince who did not with great Jealousy and Concern look upon this aggrandizing of *France*, as fearing to be treated after the same manner as the Duke of *Lorraine* had been. Upon this consideration he judg'd, that after he sufficiently humbled him, it would be the best way  
to

\* The 24 of

Jan. 1639.

Mem. of

Aub. T. 2

p. 947.

\* The 24 of

August.

\* Siri Mer.

T. 1. lib. 2.

p. 289.

to re-establish him, since he was not now in a condition to give any umbrage to *France*; and that this would gain him the esteem of several Princes, who might very eminently contribute in their respective stations, towards the depressing of the House of *Austria*. About this time the Duke of *Lorrain*, falling passionately in Love with the Countess of *Cantecroix*, had a mind to be divorced from his Dutchess *Nicole*, but this is a point upon which we need enlarge no more. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that the \* Countess \* *Siri Ib.* was very serviceable to the Cardinal, to incline the Duke to make fresh Sollicitations for the favour of *France*, which promised to procure a Divorce for him from *Rome*. The ill condition of his own affairs did likewise oblige him to it, since having no money to pay off the small Army he kept on foot, he was constrain'd to allow the Soldiers to do what they pleas'd, which set him in ill circumstances with the House of *Austria*, upon whose Lands they had been quarter'd for a long time. *p. 191.*

At last, being entred into *France*, he saw the Cardinal, and arrived on the 10th of *March* at *St. Germain*, where he was received with all imaginable respect. Assoon as he appear'd before the King, he immediately set one Knee upon the ground, and told him, that he came to humble himself before him, and submit his fortune to his Majesty's Clemency. The King offer'd thrice to raise him up, but he protested that he would not quit that posture, till his Majesty had forgiven him for all his past faults. The King was then pleas'd to assure him, that he had not the least remembrance of what was past, and that he would assist him for the future. The Duke got up, and covered himself, after which he went to see the Queen, and the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* undertook this voyage, to endeavour to regain at least one part of his Country, to procure some money for the subsistence of his Troops, and to engage the King to act at *Rome* in the favour of his Marriage with the Countess of *Cantecroix*. If he obtain'd the two first Articles, he would be able to make better conditions of agreement with the

1641. the House of *Austria*, in case he designed to embrace their party afresh, or if he found it advantageous to him, he might still continue linked to the Interests of *France*. But what he most earnestly desired was the Confirmation of his Marriage; and he had brought the Countess along with him into *France*, if the King had not sent him word to leave her at *Espinal*. The Cardinal had given his word to the Nuncio, that he would in no manner support the Duke as to his Divorce from his Dutchess *Nicole*; and that the Duke of *Lorraine* might not speak to him about him, he spread a report abroad, that the King was resolv'd to employ all his power with the Duke to prevail with him to be reconciled to his Wife. When the Duke first heard of this pretended design of the King, he was extremely mortified, for he could not endure to hear the least mention of this Accommodation; so that any one might perceive he took it for a great favour not to talk to him about it, much less to pretend that they would lend him their assistance to break off his Marriage. Thus he contented himself to talk with the Nuncio concerning it, and since he found the King did not countenance his design, he did not importune the Cardinal to favour him, in a pretension so unjust as this really was.

Not to descend into the consequences of this private affair, 'twill be sufficient to observe, that the King concluded the Treaty, concerning the restitution of *Lorraine*, on the 29th of *May*, and swore to the observation of it the same day, as well as the Duke, in the Chappel of *St. Germain*. \* The King restored *Lorraine* to him, and the Dutchy of *Bar*, upon condition that he would do homage for the latter; and that *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jamets*, and *Dun*, with all their dependencies, should continue re-united to the Crown. *Nancy* likewise was to continue as a pledge in the Kings hands, till the end of the War. Besides this, the Duke was obliged to renounce all manner of correspondence with the House of *Austria*, and to resign his Troops to the King, who was to entertain them as his own, and to pay the Dutchess *Nicole* sixscore thousand *Livres* by way of pension. The Treaty concluded

\* See the

whole Treat-

ty in Siri-

Merc. T. 1.

lib. 2. p.

296.



cluded with a promise which the Duke made to observe these Articles so faithfully, that besides what he left to his Majesty to be inseparably re-united to the Crown, he consented that the rest of his Dominions should devolve to the aforesaid Crown of *France*, if he in the least infringed this Treaty. By this Article the Cardinal put the King in a fair way to invade *Lorraine* afresh with a great appearance of Justice on his side, if ever the Duke should violate the least Clause of this Treaty, which it was not doubted but he would soon do, by reason of his natural inconstancy and imprudence. In the mean time *France* did itself the honour of this restitution, and the Kings Ministers in all places proclaim'd and boasted of their Masters generosity.

The Duke of *Lorraine* was no sooner return'd home but he began to fortifie *La Mothe*, an important place, which the *Mareschal de la Force* had not been able to take, till after a tedious Siege of several months, as we have already observed. Altho this was not prohibited by any one Article of the Treaty, yet they immediately suspected that he design'd to make a fresh rupture with *France*. The principal discontent which made him leave *Paris*, was because the Court was so far from helping him to break off his Marriage, that they would not consent that the *Lorrainers* should acknowledge the Countess of *Cantecroix* for their Dutches. This was the reason why that Lady disengaged him from the party of *France*, and prevail'd with him to joyn himself again to the House of *Austria*, which he had not quitted but by her persuasion, upon the hopes the latter had given her to act in her favour. Thus, never considering whether he should be able to support himself against *France*, he entered into a new Alliance with the Cardinal Infanta, under a pretence that the Treaty he had so lately made, was to his manifest prejudice and disadvantage. His Majesty being informed of these practices of the Duke, sent the *Comte de Gramncey* at the head of a small Army into *Lorraine*, and with *Du Hallier*, Governor of *Nancy*, he once more made himself Master of all the places belonging to this unfortunate

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\* Ib. 464.



1641. fortunate and indiscreet Prince. As for him, he retired into the *Low Countries*, where his Troops being ill paid, began after their usual rate to commit a thousand insolences and disorders.

Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was no more exact in observing the Treaty he had concluded with *France*, towards the end of the last year. They were fully convinc'd of it at the beginning of this, when they saw that instead of coming to *Paris*, according to his promise, he treated anew with *Spain*; so that now 'twas visible, that the true reason of his reconciling himself to *France*, was only to make a better market for himself with *Spain*. Altho he was ill satisfied with the Marquis de *Leganez* and some others, yet he had no quarrel with his Catholic Majesty; and indeed he durst not trust Cardinal *Richlieu*, whom he had offended in so many respects, and who had this reputation all *Europe* over, that he was never guilty of forgiving any one.

\* *Siri Mer.* This Change of the Scene oblig'd \* the Dutches of  
T. 1. lib. 2. *Savoy* to publish a \* Manifesto, wherein she forbid all  
p. 249. the Subjects of the House of *Savoy* to pay any obedi-  
\* Dated the 14 of March. ence to the Princes her Brothers-in-law. They an-  
swer'd it by another of the same nature, published  
fifteen days after, and there stil'd themselves, *The Lawful Guardians of Charles Emanuel their Nephew, Duke of Savoy*. Prince *Thomas* complain'd that his Treaty with *France* had been made publick too soon, and that they ought to have tarried till his Wife and Children were return'd out of *Spain*. The *French* maintain'd that this was a pure pretence of his own inventing; but as this reason was too weak, supposing it were true, the Prince found out some other infractions of the Treaty on the side of *France*, which he published soon after.

To make him sensible of the fault he had committed, in re-joyning himself to *Spain*, whose affairs now began to decline every where, the *French Army*, under the Vicount de *Turenne*, took the Field towards the end of *February*, who possess'd himself of *Montcalvo* and the \* Castle in a few days, and gave perpetual alarms to the *Spanish Forces* that were in *Piedmont*.  
Prince

\* The 6 of  
March.  
*Siri Mer.*  
l. 2. T. 1.  
p. 337.

Prince *Thomas* was gone to *Milan* to concert measures for the ensuing Campaign, with the *Spanish* Ministers. The Marquis de *Leganez* was at that time call'd home from his Government of *Milan*, because they were dissatisfied with him at *Madrid* for the continual losses he sustained, occasion'd merely through his want of capacity, since he was superior in number to the *French*. \* The Prince mightily prest the *Spaniards* to take the Field, and rather seek out the Enemy than wait for him; but the languishing Maxims of *Leganez* continuing at *Milan*, even after his departure, they only talked of acting upon the defensive. The Prince being inform'd what progress the *French* had made, who were then at *St. George*, within eight miles of *Yvee*, was afraid they would attack that place, which was the only remaining Town where he had a Garrison depending upon himself. *D. Sylvius Emanuel de Savoye*, his Natural Brother, commanded the Garrison there, which was large enough, considering the greatness of the place, and the *Spaniards* sent a few of their Troops thither.

\* Eman:  
Tesauro  
Ivrea Assen-  
diata & li-  
berata.

\* The *French* stayed some weeks at *St. George*, and when it was no more suspected, that they had any design upon *Yvee*, went to besiege it on the 11th of April, before the Count d' *Harcourt* was return'd from France. *Vercellino Maria Visconti*, Mestre de Camp, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, and had left the place to get himself cured at *Milan* of an Indisposition, got into the Town with some other gallant fellows, who put every thing in readiness to make a vigorous resistance. As soon as the Count d' *Harcourt* was arrived, he gave an Assault to the place, at three several places, on the 23d of April, but the breaches not being large enough, and those within defending themselves with great courage, he was beaten back with the loss of three hundred men.

\* Siri Mer.  
T. i. l. 2.  
p. 338.

Prince *Thomas* labour'd all he could to engage the *Spaniards* to attack the *French* in their Lines, before they gave a second Assault; but all that he could obtain of the Count de *Siruela*, who govern'd *Milan* with Cardinal *Trivalse*, was that he would advance as far as *Bolengo*, which is within two miles of *Yvee*.

\* Tasauro  
ib. 10.

1641. There the Prince, who commanded the Van-guard, receiv'd advice, that the Count d' *Harcourt* being inform'd of his March, resolv'd to come and meet him; he gave orders to make a diversion on the side of *Birolo*, in order to embarras the Count d' *Harcourt*, who dispatched the Marquis de *Ville* thither, with the Troops of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, who repelled the *Spanish* Forces. In the mean time, he, and the Viscount de *Turenne*, advanced at the Head of their Army, as if they design'd to attack Prince *Thomas*, altho he was stronger than they in all respects. The *Spaniards* had resolv'd, neither to receive, nor give battel; and were of opinion, that if after some small skirmish they retired, it would be enough: But Prince *Thomas* earnestly desired to engage them in a Fight, since he was able to do it with a great advantage on his side. As he was disposing his Army for that purpose, *Sirvela* was informed, that the Prince was preparing for a general Battel, which so much affrighted this *Spaniard*, who had not the least experience in military affairs, that he ordered the Infantry in all haste to withdraw to a Hill, which the Prince had just made them quit, to come and support the Horse. Altho Prince *Thomas* represented to him, the fatal consequences that might happen upon his leaving the Horse without Foot, yet he could not possibly perswade him to let them advance. The Count d' *Harcourt* judging then from the Countenance of the *Spaniards*, that they were afraid of coming up to him, thought he had a fair opportunity to charge their Horse, which he perform'd at first with success enough, but at last he was repulsed, so that he sound-ed a retreat, and the *Spaniards* did not dare to follow him. The Prince propos'd to go and attack the *French*, who were at least one half diminished, and fatigu'd with the Siege, and were not able to keep their Lines against an Army which was twice stronger than their own. But *Sirvela*, and the other *Spaniards*, would not listen to it. All they did was to send some relief to *Tyree*, part of which only \* enter'd the place, through the fault of the Guides. They design'd to have thrown them in on another side, some

\* On the  
27th of  
Ap. II.

some days after, but the *French* receiving notice of it, 1641, possess'd themselves of all the Passes, by which they were to enter.

At last, to oblige the *French* to abandon *Yree*, the Prince made the *Spaniards* resolve to attack *Chivas*, which was not in a condition to make any great resistance, having but a small Garrison there, with some pieces of Cannon, but no Bullets, so that they were forced to cover the Stones with Lead, to make them serve instead of Bullets. The Prince thought he might be able to take the place by a Scalade on the 9th of *May*, and in all probability he had succeeded in his design, if his Orders had been well executed; but the *Spaniards* not seconding those that began the attack, they were beaten back, so that now it was resolved to attack the place regularly.

The Count d' *Harcourt* daily continued to press *Yree*, but being informed what danger *Chivas* was in, he resolved to go and relieve it, thinking after that to come before *Yree*, and carry on the Siege of that place. He parted by night from the 14th to the 15th of *May*, but the *Spaniards* no sooner heard the News of his March, but they concluded to retire on the other side the *Po*, under a pretence that now the Siege of *Yree* was raised, they had fully executed their design. It was not possible for Prince *Thomas*, with all the Arguments he could use, to stop the fearful *Siruela* for never so short a time; so that the *French* saw the *Spaniards* on the other side the *Po*, as soon as they arrived here. The Prince nevertheless threw a thousand Horse into *Yree*, under the conduct of *D. Vincent de Gonzaga*, besides the Infantry which got in, which was the reason that the Count d' *Harcourt* when he return'd before it, despair'd the taking of it, and wholly raised the Siege on the 17th of *May*.

But tho the *French* Army retired from before *Yree*, yet they did not cease from farther action. After they had refresh'd themselves a little, the Count d' *Harcourt* led them out to reduce some small places, as *Ceva*, and *Mondovi*, and sat down before *Coni*, on the 29th of *July*; with six thousand Foot; and two

1641. thousand Horse. While the *French* streightned this place, which was of great importance to them, for the communication of *Provence* and *Liguria*, with what they held in *Piedmont*; Prince *Thomas* advanced to the relief of it, with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, but all the passes being possesst by the *French*, or else shut up by the overflowing of the River; besides that the Marquis *Ville*, with a body of two thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot, opposed his March, he only thought of giving them some diversion. He went to attack *Queiras*, which he vainly endeavor'd twice to take by *Scalade*, being repulsed with great loss: But the *Spaniards* had better success before *Montcalvo*, which they took by Capitulation, after three days resistance. However *Coni* was obliged to surrender on the 15th of *September* to the Count d' *Harcourt*, who put six hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse into the place.

Thus the *French* made themselves Masters of one of the best places in *Piedmont*, while the *Spaniards* lost time in doing nothing, or only retook *Montcalvo*, a place of small consideration. After the taking of *Coni*, the Count d' *Harcourt* design'd to relieve *Montcalvo*, and offer'd battel to the *Spanish* Army within a mile and half of *Asti*; he there received advice that *Montcalvo* was taken, and could by no means oblige the *Spaniards* to fight him; and so, after he had taken a few inconsiderable Castles, put his Army into Winter Quarters at *Canaves*. This being done, he arrived at *Turin*, towards the end of *September*, to surrender the City of *Coni*, which he had so lately conquer'd, into the hands of the *Dutchess*. 'Tis probable that the Cardinal by this act of self-denial, design'd to take off the suspicion he had given, and that he would not extend the Limits of *France*, at the expence of the young Duke of *Savoy*, by pretending he had no other design but to assist him.

The *Spanish* arms were not much more successful in the *Low Countries*, than in *Italy*, but as their forces there were much better managed, the reputation of the *Spanish* Monarchy did in some manner support it self by that means. \* The Cardinal had a design to open

\*Siri Mer.

T. 1. l. 2.

p. 422.



open the Campaign on this side by the Siege of *Aire*, 1641. one of the most important places in *Artois*. After several Marches and Countermarches, the better to conceal this design, the Marquis de la Meilleraye went to attack some Forts about *Aire*, which made but a sorry defence; *Bernoville*, the Governor of the place, being desirous to save his Men for the defence of the City. Thus the Marechal, after he had possessed himself of all the Avenues, began to work upon his Lines of Circumvallation on the 25th of *May*, and the Enemy did not put themselves in a readiness to hinder them, or to stop the Convoys which arrived soon after. Nevertheless, General *Bec* coming to *St. Venant*, which is upon the River *Lie*, a little below *Aire*, found means to throw five hundred men of the old Troops into the place, which somewhat retarded the progress of the Besiegers. *Bec* marched afterwards on the side of *St. Omers*, and the Cardinal Infanta having joyned him, they marched towards *Aire*, as if they meant to attack the Lines of the *French*, in the sight of whom their Army appear'd on the 22d of *June*, and had some skirmishes with them. The night following the *Spaniards* got a great quantity of Fascines, to fill up the *French* Retrenchments, and a boggy place, over which they design'd to enter the City. But having sounded the Morass, and examin'd this place, they found the Morass was too deep, and the *French* Guard too strong to make any attack on that side, which made the Cardinal Infanta change his Post; and so he sent a small party into the *Bolonois*, to make some diversion there. In the meantime the place defended itself with a great deal of vigour, divers works were taken and retaken several times, and the Besiegers bought very dearly every foot of ground they got. The Cardinal Infanta was resolv'd to succour the place, as soon as General *Lamboy*, whom he expected every moment with impatience, had join'd him; but the *French* being acquainted with his design, prest their works with that brave and diligence, that they made very great breaches with their Mines, and reduced the Garrison and *Mer. T. 1.* Burghers to capitulate on the 16th of *July*. Note 2. p. 420.

1641. to give the *Spaniards* longer time to relieve this place, the *French* Generals granted them very honourable conditions. The Garrison marched out the next day, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Ball in Mouth, in short with all the other Marks of Honour which are usually granted to those that have defended themselves well, and yet don't slay till the last extremity before they surrender.

The same day that the Garrison of *Aire* marched out, that of *Genap* capitulated, after a Siege of about a months continuance. The King had renewed this year, the antient Treaties he had made with the States General, and had promised to send them twelve hundred thousand Livres, upon condition they would attempt some considerable enterprize. In pursuance of this Treaty, *Frederic Henry* attack'd *Genap*, and after he had made himself Master of the Town, reduced the Castle to capitulate at the time abovementioned.

\* Siri 1b.  
p 465.

The taking of *Aire* did so wonderfully provoke the Cardinal Infanta, by reason of the lamentable consequences this Conquest might draw after it, for the rest of *Artois* and for *Flanders*, that he resolv'd to dislodge the Army of the Marechal de la Meilleraye, and attempt the Siege of this place, before they could furnish it with necessary provisions. So *Lamboy* having join'd him with four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the day after the reduction of the place, he adventur'd to besiege the victorious Army, and to hinder them from receiving victuals or other relief, he made a Detachment out of his Army, under the command of the Count de Salazar, who took *Lillers*, and the Fort of *Ecluse* between *Doway* and *Cambray*, and defeated a Convoy which advanced to throw themselves into this latter Fort. The *Spaniards* made some new Forts between *Terwen* and *St. Omers*, to hinder any provisions from coming that way.

On the 5th of *August* the Cardinal Infanta marched directly towards the Lines of the *French*, whom he kept in breath with continual skirmishes, but was not able to bring them to a battel; till at last the Marechal de la Meilleraye, fearing that if he stay'd in this

this Post much longer, scarcity of Provisions and Ammunition would destroy his Army, as well as the place he had so lately taken, retired by night on the 9th of the same month, and marched in all haste to possess himself of the Pass of *Terwin*, lest the Enemy should prevent him. Before he parted, he repaired the Breaches as well as he could, and fill'd up the greatest part of the Lines. He put three thousand men into the place, and gave the Government of it to *Aigueberre*, with food enough for two or three months, if rightly managed. He could not leave them any more Powder, which was absolutely necessary for them, but he hoped to throw a Convoy shortly into the place.

As soon as the Marechal was dislodged, the Cardinal Infanta enter'd his Lines, and began the Siege of this place, with a great deal of vigour and diligence, but so as not to expose his men too much to the Enemy's shot. As he knew it was not provided with every thing necessary, he hoped soon to reduce the Garrison by Famine. The Marechal did what he could to throw some provisions into it, but the *Spaniards* were so strongly upon their guard, that all those that endeavor'd it were beaten back with loss. By the 20th of *August* the *Spaniards* had already rais'd three Batteries, the besieged not thinking it worth the while to incommode them by their Cannon, because they had not Powder enough, and were oblig'd to reserve the little they had till a time of necessity. Soon after the Garrison disarm'd the Burghers, and turn'd all unprofitable Mouths out of the place. However, to oblige the Cardinal Infanta to abandon his design, the Marechal *de Breze* attack'd *Lens*, which he took, and *Meilleraye* took *la Bassée* likewise, and made inroads into *Flanders*, where they burnt and ravaged ten or twelve leagues round the Country. But the *Spaniards* still carried on the Siege which they had begun, hoping the place would shortly fall into their hands, through want of provisions.

The Prince of *Orange*, importun'd by *France*, enter'd *Siri Mer. Flanders* at another side, with the Army of the T. 1. 1. 24  
11 4 States, p. 514.

1641. States, and design'd to attack *le Sas de Gand*, but the *Count de Fountains* having got thither before him, with seven thousand Foot, and forty Companies of Horse, obliged him to retire to *Bergen op Zoom*, without doing any thing. The *French* also did attempt in vain to make themselves Masters of *Armentieres*, upon the *Lis*; for some of *Lamboi's* Troops that were in Garrison there, beat them back with loss.

But upon advice, that the *Spaniards* had weaken'd all their Garrisons, to form a small body of men, in order to hinder the excursions they made into their Country, the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye* attempted the Siege of *Bapaume*, a place of great importance, and difficult to be besieged, by reason of the great scarcity of Water. He began to besiege it in *September*, and took it by Capitulation on the 18th of the same month. The Garrison was to be conducted, according to the Capitulation, as far as *Doway*; but not being able to compass it in one day, they pass'd the night at *Ecluse*, and pursued their way the next morning. It was thought sufficient to give them a Trumpet to accompany them, but happening to meet with *St. Preuil*, the Governor of *Arras*, altho the Trumpet acquainted him with the matter, \* he fell upon them, kill'd part of their men, and pillag'd the whole Baggage. The King being inform'd of this action, lest the world should impute it to the perfidiousness of the Generals, ordered him to be apprehended, in consequence of which, having been accused of several other things, he was beheaded at *Amiens*.

\* Pontis relates this matter otherwise in his Mem. G. 2. p. 190, &c.

In the mean time the Cardinal Infanta falling sick in the Camp at *Aire*, caus'd himself to be carried to *Brussels*, to recover his health there, but his Indisposition increasing, he died there on the 9th of *November*. It was believ'd in *France* that his death would cause the Siege of *Aire* to be rais'd; but *D. Francisco de Melo*, who had the management of it, continued it with great resolution; so that at last, after they had consumed all their Provisions, and eaten every thing from whence they could draw the least nourishment, the place surrendred on the 7th of *December*.

ber. Thus the Campaign concluded in the *Low Countries*, in which the *Spaniards* lost three places, to regain one at an extraordinary expence. However, the *French* Generals were blamed for taking so little care to preserve this Conquest, which had cost them so much blood, and which they saw retaken before their eyes, without finding a way to hinder it.

The *Spaniards* did not \* maintain the War with the same vigor in *Catalonia*, altho they could have done it with much more ease, provided they had given as good orders in that Principality, as in the *Low Countries*. Instead of offering an Act of Oblivion to the *Catalonians*, immediately after the retreat of the *French*, that so a despair to obtain a pardon for their insurrection might not carry them to make a more obstinate defence, the Marquis de los Velez mark'd the Men and Women with a hot Iron, and this Cruelty engaged the people to support their Rebellion with all their force. Those of *Barcelona* worked night and day upon their Fortifications, to put that place in a condition of defending it self, and no persons were exempted from so necessary a duty. In the mean time *Serignan*, Marechal de Camp, who had tarried in *Roussillon* with his Regiment of Infantry, and three Companies of Horse, enter'd *Catalonia* with these Forces, and did not a little contribute to repress the first heat of the *Spanish* Army, and to teach the *Catalonians*, who were unexperienced in War, after what manner they might defend themselves.

*Serignan* enter'd into *Barcelona*, and conducted some of the *Catalonian* Troops thither, altho he was pursued by the *Spanish* Cavalry. The Marquis de los Velez, being within a few leagues of this City, dispatched a Trumpeter to them, with Letters to the Deputation of *Catalonia*. The Viceroy promis'd to employ all his interest with the King, to procure them a full Indemnity for their Insurrection, upon condition they would disengage themselves from *France*; and on the other hand he threatned them with very rigorous punishments, if they persisted longer in their obstinacy. The *Catalonians* after they had amus'd the Trumpet as long as they could, in order

1641.

T. 1. l. 1.

p. 11.

Mem. Rec.

T. 8. p.

825.



1641. order to gain the more time, made answer, that the Privileges of the *Catalonians* did not permit them to treat with any one, whoever he was, that came in arms into their Country.

On the 26th of *January* the *Spanish* Army advanced to attack *Montjui*, which is within half a league of *Barcelona*; but the *French* and *Catalonian* Cavalry, to the number of five hundred, marched out of the City to observe the Countenance of the Enemy. The *Spaniards* perceiving it, privately retired into a Wood of Olive Trees, to cut off these Horse, and at the same time attack'd them in the Front, to amuse them. *Bezancón* and *Serignan* easily sustain'd the shock of the latter, but soon after the Duke de *St. George*, at the head of the others, came out from behind the Wood, and marched towards them. Altho the Cannon of the City began to incommode them, yet they still advanced forward, even within Musquet shot, and bravely attack'd the *French* Cavalry with Swords in their hands; but the Duke being mortally wounded, and several Officers of Note killed, those that followed him were obliged to retreat, leaving a hundred and fifty dead upon the spot, and a great number of wounded. The *French* and *Catalonians* lost in this encounter about a hundred men.

*Montjui* stands upon a Hill, on the top of which is a small Plain, where there was a Light-house, but *Bezancón*, at the desire of the Inhabitants of *Barcelona*, had built a small Fort there, encompassed with a Wall of dry Stones, where he lodged sixty *French* Musqueteers. This Hill being accessible on every side, except by the Sea, the *Spanish* Army began soon after to mount it, and the Forlorn Hope easily gain'd the advance Posts, which the *Catalonians* were ordered to keep, who fled almost as soon as the Enemy appear'd. But being now come to the top, where they imagin'd to find no resistance, they were surprized to see themselves assail'd by a discharge of Musquet shot, and a shower of Stones, which obliged them to descend, to cover themselves from this storm, till the body of the Army came up. In the mean time five hundred Musqueteers came from *Barcelona* by Sea, and the *Catalo-*  
nians

nians who had saved themselves behind the Fort, 1641, imagin'd that the *Spaniards* run away from these succors, and three thousand Musqueteers whom *Bezancon* and *Serignan* conducted by Land; so that taking courage they went to charge the Forlorn Hope, and beat them back upon their first line, which they put into disorder. Upon this *Bezancon* falling in with a thousand Musqueteers, broke it, and altho the second line supported them, yet they could not recover themselves. And now the rest of his men arriving from *Barcelona*, and being followed by abundance of people, who had beheld this happy beginning, fear possessed the *Spaniards*, and they retir'd without noise, as soon as night came, towards *Marorel*. The *Catalonians* gave no quarter to the wounded, that could not follow the precipitate march of their Army; and with those that were kill'd in the Skirmish, there were two thousand dead in the Field of Battel.

About this time *D. John*, King of *Portugal*, acquainted the *Catalonians* with his Elevation to the Throne, by the Bishop of *Lamego*, who was going to *Rome*, which news mightily animated them. The next day after the Fight, all the Courts being assembled, the *Catalonians* resolv'd to submit themselves to the King of *France*, provided he would preserve their Rights and Privileges. This they pass'd into an Act, which *Bezancon* dispatched to the Court, with half the Colours that were taken at the Battel of *Montjui*.

Cardinal *Richlieu* having receiv'd this news, was in doubt whether it would be for the advantage of *France*, to accept of this Donation of *Catalonia* or no, by reason of the great obstruction this would bring to the concluding of a Peace, and the mighty Expence the King would be oblig'd to be at for the preserving of this Country. He could rather have wish'd, that this Principality would erect an independent Republic, under the Protection of *France*, because the King would have then drawn the same advantage from it, without engaging too far in its defence. But being convinc'd at last, that the *Catalonians* would never be able to govern themselves long in the form of a Common-

1641. Commonwealth, but would infallibly fall again under the *Spanish* Government ; and lastly considering, that it would be scandalous for the King to refuse so important a Donation, only for fear of engaging himself in some expence, he believed he was obliged to accept of it. *Bezancón* was surprized at this irresolution in the Cardinal, being fully of opinion, that if they had not neglected matters so at first, but immediately employed sufficient Forces in that Province, the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Valentia*, the Inhabitants of both which places had a mighty kindness for the *Catalonians*, would have fallen after the same manner, into the hands of *France*.

The *Spaniards*, after the defeat of *Monjui*, retreated to their first Camp of *Tarragone*, and the *Catalonians*, encouraged by this Victory, put themselves in a posture to preserve the advantage they had gain'd. The King gave Orders to the Marquis *de Breze*, who commanded a small Fleet in the Ocean, to sail towards the Coasts of *Spain*, to hinder them from sending any Fleet upon the Coasts of *Catalonia*. He met, near *Cales*, with a Fleet bound for *America*, of which he sunk or burnt five Gallions, whereof the Admiral was one, and the rest he put to flight. The Bishop of *Bourdeaux* likewise gave chase to the *Spanish* Gallies in the *Mediterranean*, commanded by the Duke *de Ferrandine*, and cruised upon the Coasts of *Naples*, where he burnt a Gallion under the Cannon of some Forts by the Sea side.

Siri Mer. Not long after the King sent a dispatch to *la Mothe*  
T. 1. l. 2. *Houdancourt*, who was in *Italy*, to set himself at the  
p. 287. head of three or four thousand men that were marching to *Catalonia*. He arrived at *Barcelona* with his Troops, and as he saw that *Monjui* was a more important post than was at first believ'd, *la Mothe* caus'd a more regular Fort to be built there ; which was no sooner in a condition of defence, but he marched to the Enemy, who besieged *Ayrone*, and having obliged them to abandon this attempt, he threw five hundred men into the place. He likewise increased the Garrison of *Lerida*, and kept the *Spaniards* in a perpetual inquietude. Their Troops, which had abundance

abundance of *Portugueses* in them, diminished daily 1641. by desertions, so that they were constrained to retire to *Constantin*, a small City within a league of *Tarragone*. *La Mothe* \* advanced towards that side, after he had put a May. *Siri* *Catalonian* Garrison into *Valz*, with a design to favour ib. 344. the Descent of the Archbp. of *Bourdeaux*, who was lately arrived at *Barcelona*, and had brought some Troops by Sea. The *French* Army, being divided into two bodies, for the greater convenience of their March, met several scattered bodies of *Spaniards*, which they fought and put to flight; after which the *Spaniards* having abandoned their Camp, the Archbishop landed eight hundred men without difficulty, and made himself Master of the Fort of *Saló*. \* A few days af- \* The 12  
ter, the *French* besieged *Constantin*, in view of the of May. the *Spaniards*, who were under the Cannon of *Tarragone*, and carried it in three days. At last *la Mothe* approached nearer to the Camp of the *Spaniards*, and a hot skirmish past between the two Armies in the sight of *Tarragone*. The *Spaniards* found themselves extremely incommoded for want of Forrage, and this still served to augment the desertions, so that the *French* and *Catalonians* found themselves much stronger than the *Spaniards*. *La Mothe* then attempted the Blockade of *Tarragone*, both by Sea and Land, with a design to reduce it by Famine, or lay a regular Siege to it, as soon as more Troops were come up to his relief.

In the mean time, as the Forces that were sent by Land into *Catalonia* run great dangers, so long as the *Spaniards* were Masters of *Roussillon*, and it would be a difficult matter to preserve *Catalonia*, unless they were possessed of that County, \* the Court of *France* now \* *Siri Mer*: began to think of seizing it, if it were possible this T. 1. l. 2. year. The *Marquis de Mortare* was Governour of it, P. 434. and had a small Body of five thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse. The Prince of *Conde* enter'd this County with about seven thousand Men, about the beginning of *June*, and sent the *Vicount d Arpa-jon* to take a view of *Perpignan*, who had much ado to avoid an Ambuscade of the *Spaniards*. The Prince being advanc'd before *Canet*, carried that place and the

1641. the Castle in a few days. The inhabitants of *Argeles*, a place of great importance, because it could cut off from *Roussillon* all manner of communication with the port of *Roses*, turn'd out the *Spanish* Garrison, and open'd their Gates to the *French*. Soon after the *Catalonian* Peasants, who extremely incommoded the *Spaniards* with their excursions, carried off a considerable Convoy, which was going from *Collioure* to *Perpignan*; and the Prince of *Conde* took *Elne*, which lyes between *Perpignan* and *Collioure*, on the 27th of *June*, altho it was very well defended by some *Italian* Troops that were in the place.

After this the Prince divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which was sent to *La Mothe* near *Tarragone*, and the other design'd to overrun *Roussillon*. *La Mothe* press'd the *Spaniards* so near, that he kept them as it were besieg'd under the Cannon of *Tarragone*, where they continued; without endeavouring to get out, for they hoped by this means to amuse the *French* Armies by Sea and Land, without doing any thing, all the rest of the Campaign. He on the other hand flattered himself, that he should be able to starve them in this post, and reduce them to capitulate upon what conditions he pleas'd.

On the 9th of *July* the *Spaniards* having form'd a design to seize a post near the Sea, from whence they expected relief, and at the same time to favour a Convoy of forrage which was to come to them, put two or three thousand men out of their Lines, to put this project in execution. But *la Mothe* having received advice of it before-hand by a *Walloon* deserter, went to meet this detachment, and defeated it. The rest of the *Spanish* Army which had advanced out of their Lines, to favour the retreat of those who first went out, was in like manner defeated, after a sharp resistance. 'Tis said that in this rancounter the *Spaniards* lost six hundred men, and the *French* an hundred.

The *Spanish* Army having got into their Lines again, or into the City, began now to feel the terrible effects of a violent Famine, and the Prince de *Bottero* who commanded it, caus'd to be distributed daily to each



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each Soldier two ounces of Rice, and three of Horse-flesh; for they made no difficulty to kill their Horses, because they wanted forrage for them. In the mean time care was taken at *Madrid* to raise a small body of men, to go and deliver the Army that was besieged at *Tarragone*, and as soon as they had got together six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Marquis *de Leganez* receiv'd orders to place himself at the head of them, and endeavour to force the *French* Lines. The Marquis set forward with this design, but as he was not become more dexterous in military matters in *Spain* than he was in *Italy*, he thought that the Passes were so well guarded, that it would be labour lost to attack him. Thus he retreated peaceably within some leagues of the place, without adventuring to do any thing for its relief.

The Prince *de Bottero's* Army being now reduced to the last extremity, were exceeding joyful to see a \* Fleet of forty Gallies appear, but the difficulty was, how to make their way into the Harbour thro the *French* Vessels. However the Prince of *Ferrandine*, who commanded this Fleet, was fully resolved to attempt it, since it was not possible to save the Town and Army otherwise. Having therefore observ'd, that the Squadron of the Admiral and Vice Admiral lay at some distance from one another, he determin'd to pass through their two firings; but there were only ten Gallies that durst follow him through all the Cannon and Musquet shot of the Enemy. They lost abundance of men, and were extremely shattered before they could reach the Mole; and as they were unloading the Provisions they brought upon the Key, the Squadron of the Admiral coming near, began to cannonade them so furiously, that they must of necessity return the same way they came to avoid being sunk. However they performed it, and the *French* out of one and forty Gallies only took one; they unloaded but a small quantity of provisions, and landed some men on Shore; in a few weeks both the Army and Town were in a worse condition than before, and began to feed upon Dogs, Rats, and Cats. Thus this Attempt of the Fleet only serv'd to destroy four or

five

\* On the  
4<sup>th</sup> of July

1641. five hundred men in passing through, and to put a great number of Gallies out of a condition to appear for a long time at Sea.

But not to abandon a Town and an Army, which combated with much more resolution against Famine than against the Enemy, *Spain* made its last effort, and set to Sea a Fleet of sixty Sail, followed by several Brigandines laden with provisions. It \* appear'd of August. six weeks after the other, and while the men of War Siri Merc. and Gallies attack't the *French* Fleet, which was in T. 1. l. 2. a manner surprized, as not imagining the *Spaniards* p. 451. could be able to put to Sea in so short a time, Brigandines entered the Harbour without great difficulty. The Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had sometimes succeeded by meer hazard, was in such a consternation that he was incapable of making head against the Enemy, so that after the lost of three Vessels, he escaped with the rest of his Fleet very much damaged, to *Provence*. Notwithstanding this defeat, *La Motte* staid some days longer in his Lines, but fearing the succours which continually arrived at *Tarragone*, he retook the posts, where he was lodg'd before, between *Constantin* and *Valz*, and abandoned this design.

They were much dissatisfied with the Archbishops conduct at Court, because he had sent them word that he was strong enough to beat any *Spanish* Fleet that should come before him, and then after he had abandoned the Sea to the Enemy, would have made them believe that he had got the Victory. 'Tis reported that this man had gain'd the Cardinal's favour, by applying himself intirely to him, without making his Court to any of his Relations, or Creatures. He had been Steward of the Cardinal's House, and made the Servants and Tenants give an account of every thing, with so much rigour, that the Cardinal wondered at his exactness, besides that the Archbishop put in frequently something of his own, which considerably increased the Cardinal's revenues. But as all the World hated him, and especially *De Noyers* the Secretary, no means were left unattempted to destroy him. 'Tis said that it was with this prospect he was sent

sent into *Catalonia*, with a Fleet which they knew 1641  
 was not in a condition to oppose that of the *Spaniards*,  
 and that it was against his advice that *La Mothe* en-  
 deavoured to starve *Tarragone*. As soon as he was  
 arriv'd at *Toulon*, the Officers mutinied against him,  
 and refused to own him for their Admiral. They  
 likewise sent relations to Court quite different from  
 his, and accused him of being positive and humour-  
 som, and that he never regarded the advice of those  
 persons, who had the greatest experience in Sea af-  
 fairs. As all the Court in general joyn'd with his ac-  
 cusers, the King and Cardinal immediately concurr'd  
 in an ill opinion of him, and at last resolved to or-  
 der the informations against this Prelate to be taken.  
 In the mean time they took from him the command  
 the Fleet; which was none of the fittest posts for a  
 Bishop, and banished him to *Carpentras*. At the bot-  
 tom, altho he was certainly in the wrong to take up  
 a profession which he did not understand, and his  
 conduct was far from being regular, yet the Cardinal,  
 who pretended to know the men whom he employ'd,  
 was more to be blamed, for giving to a Bishop, and  
 to a person so uncapable as he was, a Fleet to com-  
 mand.

Towards the end of the Campaign \* the *Spaniards* \* The 4 of  
 surprized the City of *Almenas*, but the inhabitants Novemb:  
 escaping into the Castle, they began to lay siege to it.  
*La Mothe* marched thither with all speed, with two  
 thousand Horse, and two thousand eight hundred  
 Foot, but the *Spaniards* being at least thrice stronger  
 than himself, he durst not attack them. However  
 he saved the place by a stratagem after this manner;  
 he sent three hundred Horse to the top of the neigh-  
 bouring mountains, with all the Drums and Trum-  
 pets belonging to the Army, and ordered them to  
 Alarm the Enemy on that side, with the greatest  
 noise they could make, that so they might believe the  
 whole Army was there, while he on the other side,  
 threw himself into the Town with five hundred  
 Horse. This project succeeded very happily, and so  
 the *Spaniards* quitted their design.

1641. After the King had accepted the donation of *Catalonia*, he appointed the *Mareschal de Breze* to go thither, to command in quality of *Viceroy*, and to swear at *Barcelona*, in his Majesty's name, to preserve the privileges of the *Catalonians*. He was already arriv'd at *Rouillon*, when he received orders to block up *Perpignan*, to hinder any relief or *Ammunition* from coming into it, because the King propos'd to attack this place, the following Campaign. He seiz'd upon all the passes, and made retrenchments where he saw convenient; however he could not hinder the *Spaniards* from forcing the passage of the mountains, the 21st of *December*, so that he was reduced to defend himself against the insults of the *Spaniards*, by posting his men at *Angeles*.

What most of all favour'd the *French* on this side, was the happy success that attended the insurrection of the *Portugueses*, who not only beat the *Castilians* out of their own Country, but made frequent excursions in the neighbourhood with mighty advantage, *Castile* not being prepared to oppose them, and several *Grandeess*, as the Duke de *Medina Sedonia*, being discontented at the Government, and favouring the *Portugueses* under-hand. Their King *Don John* was own'd by *France*, and all the Enemies of *Spain*, who encouraged him to keep the Crown on his head which he had so lately gain'd. The particulars of this Revolution having no relation to the life of our Cardinal, I shall therefore omit them.

In *Germany*, *Banier* the *Swedish* General, and the Count de *Guebriant* performed no considerable en-

\* On the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, he and *Turkerson* took his place. The Princes of *Italy* *Pufendorf* had now for a long time been only spectators of what pass'd in *Piedmont*, and might have continued still in the same tranquillity, if the *Barberini* had not made an attempt upon the Dutchy of *Castro* and some other Lands, belonging to the Duke of *Parma*,  
 11b. 13.

\* See *Sili* near *Rome*. \* Under a pretence of I know not what *Merc. T. 1.* Rights, which 'tis not necessary here to set down, the 11b. 3. as the *Papal* Army entered this Dutchy in *September*, and beginning. in *October* forced *Castro* to capitulate, and on the

13th of that Month took possession of it. The Duke of *Parma* complained of this hard usage to all the Princes of *Italy*, but especially to the Republic of *Venice*, and to the great Duke of *Tuscany*, who promised to act in his behalf, but had done much better if they had hindered the *Barberini* from stripping him of part of his territory, by sending sufficient forces to this Prince, when he first demanded them; since 'tis infinitely easier to prevent a mischief of this nature, than to apply Remedies to it when 'tis once done. The best support which the Duke of *Savoy* found upon this occasion, was the Marechal d' *Estreets*, a great Enemy to the *Barberini*, who being recalled from his embassy at *Rome*, stopt at *Parma*, and offered his service to the Duke, as we shall find in the series of this History. And this he did not engage in without the consent of the Cardinal-Duke, who was no better affected to the House of *Urban VIII.* than the Marechal. The *Marquis de Fonteny* succeeded the latter in this embassy at *Rome*, and as he had as much Flegm in his constitution as the Marechal had Fire, it was hoped that he might be able to act with more success in a Court, where their negotiations are very long, and require a world of patience.

After the Duke of *Parma* had received this hard Treatment, the Pope fulminated an Admonition against him, by which he ordered him to appear at *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. The King of *France* and all *Italy* interceded for the Duke, but the *Barberini* were not men to be wrought upon by persuasions, so when any foreign Prince came to interpose in this affair, they only paid him with fair promises. In the mean time *Don Thaddeo Barberini*, whom the Pope, who doated upon his Nephews, thought to be a mighty Captain, made great levies of men, which he sent into *Lombardy*, and caused Forts to be built in several places of *Polezin*, for the preservation of his new Conquests. The Duke of *Parma* raised forces on his side, to oppose one power by another, and at the same time published a Manifesto, wherein he shewed the injustice the *Barberini* had done him, and the latter were not backward to return an answer to it.



1641.

To return now to the Affairs of the Cardinal: The Queen Mother, who had resided for some time at *London*, was obliged to depart out of *England*, at the private instances he made to King *Charles* the First. This Prince being unluckily embroil'd with his own people, was not in a condition to refuse anything to *Lewis XIII.* lest he should foment these disorders, more than he had already done; so that he gave his Mother-in-law to understand, that she would extremely oblige him, if she would leave *England*. She desir'd to return into the *Low Countries*, but whatever solicitations his Majesty of *Great Britain* could make in her behalf, the *Spaniards*, who were dissatisfied with her former conduct, would not so much as give her leave to pass through their Country. Nor durst the States of the *United Provinces* suffer her to tarry in theirs, for fear of offending the Cardinal. So that she was forced to go to *Cölen*, where she lived in extreme indigence till her death.

The Cardinal, who was pleas'd at these mortifications which this unhappy Princess received, was not sorry to see her intirely abandon'd by her Daughters, and her Sons-in-law. Towards the end of this year he had the pleasure to understand, that the \* *The 6 of Pope* had made a \* promotion of a dozen Cardinals, December. among whom was his dear Friend and Confident *Julius Mazarine*, for whom *France* had demanded a Cap.

In the course of this very year, wherein so many things, as we have already seen, contributed to strengthen and support the fortune of this Minister, the new Conspiracy of the Count *de Soissons*, against him, which at first seem'd powerful enough to overturn it, ended as advantageously for him as he could have wish'd, since he was deliver'd from one of the most formidable enemies he had. 'Tis what I am now going to relate, in order to conclude with it the History of the Occurrences of the

\* See Siri Year 1641.

Merc T. 1. I have elsewhere observ'd, that the Cardinal would l. 2. p 346, have \* married his Neice *de Combalet*, to the Count  
de

*de Soissons*, and that this Prince refused an Alliance so much below him. The Minister did not drop his pretensions for all that, but flatter'd himself that by ill using and disregarding the Count, he should at last break his haughty Spirit: As he believed that the King would never have any Children, he imagined that the Heirs of the Count and his Neice, might one day sit upon the Throne: And he thought that by pretending to serve the Count, who was a high spirited, but imprudent Prince, he should humble the D. of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*; but the inflexible constancy of the Count defeated all his projects, which appeared to be so much the more Chimerical, after the King had Sons to succeed him. Whatever he pretended in public, 'tis certain that the Cardinal had an unconquerable aversion to the Count, for besides that 'twas impossible to commit small faults against him, contempt was the thing in the world that most disgusted him, and which he took care to revenge in the severest manner. To this we may add, that the Cabals of the Count, which opposed the grandeur of the Minister, rais'd his hatred to the highest extremity, and it received no diminution by the retirement of the Count to *Sedan*, who had engaged the King to pay the Garrison of that City, pursuant to the Treaty, against the opinion of the Cardinal, who had advised that this Money should be paid to the Duke of *Bouillon*. 'Tis reported, that his design was to oblige that Prince to sell that place to him, for which he had offer'd him in vain great summs of Money, and Lands in another place. Nay, some persons confidently affirm, that the Minister had a mind to erect a small Sovereignty for himself upon the *Meuse*, to retreat thither in case of necessity. However it was, 'tis certain he loved the Duke of *Bouillon* at the bottom no more than he did the Count of *Soissons*. Besides, he was disgusted with the \* Archbishop of *Rheims*, Son to the Duke of *Guise*, who had likewise retir'd to *Sedan* some years before, because the Cardinal would not give him leave to resign good part of his Benefices to his Brothers, as designing to marry *Ann de Gonzaga*, Daughter to the late Dutchess

1641

\* See Siri  
Mer. T. 1.  
l. 2: p. 352.

1641. of *Mantua*. The Cardinal would have had him renounce all his Benefices, and surrender them into the Kings hands, after which his Majesty was to grant him a *Brevet*, by which he should be enabled to dispose of part of them in favour of his Brothers. But the Archbishop fearing they would laugh at him as soon as he had made this renunciation, withdrew to *Sedan*. Upon this, the King, under pretence of repairing some buildings, which the Archbishop ought to have done, sequestered his whole revenue, and nominated an Administrator, in his absence. This Prince did all he could, to be reconciled to the Cardinal, but some difficulties arose, which hindered them from coming to any conclusion. But in the mean time the Prince *de Joinville* his eldest Brother, and the Duke of *Guise* his Father, happened to dye, which made him take upon him the title of the Duke of *Guise*.

\* Towards  
the end of  
the year  
1641. Siri  
ib. p. 359.

About this \* time a Gentleman was apprehended in *Poitou*, belonging to the Duke of *Soubise*, his name *La Richerie*, just come from *England*, who as they reported, brought Letters from the Dukes of *Soubise*, and *la Valette*, to the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Marquis *de la Force*, wherein they perswaded them to raise the *Hugonots* in *Guienne*. It was pretended that the Queen Mother, and Madam *la Chevreuse* had a hand in the design. The Marquis *de la Force* had received his Letters, and sent them to the Cardinal; but it was alledged, that he had kept them by him too long, and this rendered him suspected. Whether these Letters were real or no, and whether *la Richerie* depos'd what he knew, or said what they would have him, in the *Bastile* where he was imprison'd, the report ran that the Count *de Soissons* was concerned in this conspiracy, and that he was to enter *Campagne* with an Army, while the Duke of *Espernon*, and his Son acted in *Brittany*. During the whole Ministry of the Cardinal, there were so many true Plots, and so many lies published, that 'tis impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood. For as his Creatures took the depositions of the Prisoners, and these that were accus'd, were not allowed to defend themselves, according to the ordinary

ry forms, one cannot certainly know whether these prisoners deposed the truth, or whether they did not swear as they were commanded. However it was, the Count *de Soissons*, positively denyed that he had any concern in this affair, and sent *Campion* to Court, to make protestations of his innocence. The Cardinal, without troubling himself to prove that he was guilty, pretended to be partly satisfied with these assurances, and answered him cololy enough.

This Prince, notwithstanding his absence from Court, still kept his place of Grand Master of his Majesty's house, and sent some orders, which the King would not suffer to be executed. As this nearly concern'd him, he tryed to confirm his orders, but he was obliged to give way, and ever since that time, as 'tis said, meditated a revenge. The King would not allow him to nominate to the vacant Offices of his house, which were in his disposal, nor that any one should go to *Sedan* to beg them of him, as till now they were accustomed to do. He likewise stopt his pensions and revenues, nay he forbid any provisions to be brought to *Sedan*, under a pretence that they were carried from thence, into the Country of *Luxemburg*. The Duke of *Guise* had not as yet quitted his Archbishoprick of *Rheims*, and yet he enjoyed none of the revenues belonging to it, altho he engaged *Corraro*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, to speak in his behalf. All the answer that the Cardinal made was, that he should deliver all his Benefices into the King's hands, and after that they knew how to deal with him.

About the \* same time it was discovered, that certain persons in the habits of Pilgrims, had conspired against the Minister, who being apprehended and sent to Prison, accused the Duke of *Vendome*, who was enlarged out of confinement, after they had turn'd him out of all his places, and who lived at a distance from Court, with having engaged them in this enterprize. As soon as the Duke was informed of it, he sent the Duke of *Beaufort* his second Son in all haste to *Paris*, to demand of his Majesty, that he would be pleased to permit his Father

\* Sir  
Mer. T. 2.  
l. 1. p. 223.

1641. to come to Court, to justify himself. The Duke arrived almost at the same time at *Paris*, where he was *Incognito*, and sent to desire of the King, that he might confront these Witnesses. His demand was granted, but instead of making his appearance, he retired into *England* with the Duke of *Beaufort*, pretending that it was scandalous for a person of his Quality, to be confronted with profligate mercenary scoundrels. He was generally blamed for demanding an appearance, and going off after he had obtained it; and whether he was guilty or innocent, there was without doubt great indiscretion in this management. However it was, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Beaufort*, served by this means to augment the number of the professed Enemies of the Cardinal.

Several persons were of \* Opinion, that this Minister being assured of the weakness of *Spain*, and of the Malecontents, treated the Princes of *Sedan* in this insupportable manner, that he might oblige them to have recourse to the *Spaniards*, and thus furnish himself with an occasion to destroy them. He hoped by this conduct intirely to ruin the Count de *Soissons*, with whom he supposed he should never be able to live in peace, by reason of the mutual disgusts and animosities that were between them. The Duke of *Bonillon* he could not endure, because he refused to sell him *Sedan*, or to exchange it for other Lands; and he looked upon the Benefices of the Duke of *Guise*, which amounted to four hundred thousand livres a year, to be too rich and valuable a spoil to be neglected.

It was reported up and down, that they had concluded a Treaty with *Spain*, altho they had made not the least step to it as yet, but to oblige them to do it, he was resolv'd to attack *Sedan*; because as these Princes were by no means in a condition to defend themselves with their own Forces, so they would be most infallibly constrained to have immediate recourse unto *Spain*. He knew the Count was too much obliged to the Duke of *Bonillon*, to quit his party, nay that these two had signed a writing, whereoy



whereby they promis'd never to separate their Interests; so that he hop'd to ruin them both at one blow, by attacking *Sedan*. He sent word to the D. of *Guise*, that the King having received advice that the Count and the D. of *Bonillon* had entered into a Treaty with *Spain*, it would be his best way to disengage himself from that faction, and come and beg pardon for his fault; that if the Duke fell into this snare, his confession might serve to condemn the other two.

Not long after, the Cardinal said publicly, that the King had certain proofs that the Princes had concluded a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, by the means of the Abbot de *Mercy*, and lastly by Don *Michael de Salamanca*, Secretary to the Cardinal Infanta, with whom the Duke of *Bonillon* had personally conferr'd near *Sedan*. The Countess of *Soissons* being inform'd of what the Minister had thus affirm'd; went to see him with the Duke of *Longueville*, to endeavour to justify her Son, and to obtain for him a prolongation of the permission he had to reside at *Sedan*. The Cardinal return'd no positive answer to the Countess's complaints, under a pretence of consulting his Majesty before-hand, but some days after, sending for the Duke and Dutches, he told them, "That the King  
"and he were willing to believe that the Count was  
"not guilty, altho they knew that the Duke of *Bonillon*  
"had treated with Don *Michael de Salamanca*,  
"upon the frontiers of the Principality of *Sedan*;  
"and that it was hardly to be imagined that the  
"Count, who had so particular a friendship for the  
"Duke of *Bonillon*, knew nothing of the matter:  
"That if it were true, that he was wholly ignorant  
"of it, he ought to leave *Sedan*, and disengage himself  
"from the Duke's Interests: That he might go  
"to *Venice* or to *Neufchatel*, or to any of his Country  
"houses: That it was extremely scandalous for a  
"Prince of his Birth, to live united with the enemies of  
"the Kingdom, where his descendants might one day  
"sit upon the Throne; that, in fine, it was not sufficient  
"for him to be innocent, but that he ought to  
"be exempt from all suspicion. The Countess excused  
"her Son as far as she might, and complain'd that upon

1641. on bare suspicions they had suspended him from the exercise of his Office of Grand Master of the Kings House, and stopt his Pensions: But all she could draw from the Cardinal was, "That if the Count was innocent, he ought to quit *Sedan*; and if he was guilty, "both he and the Duke of *Bouillon* ought to confess "their fault, and they should be pardoned: That he "would do well to resolve with all speed to do one of "these two things, because his Majesty would no "longer be uncertain of his fidelity.

Some of the Count's friends advised him to retire from *Sedan*, and give way to the Ministers indignation, who would otherwise destroy him; but he could not endure to hear any talk of it, and continued firm in his resolution to run the same fortune with the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Guise*. As none of these three were in the humour to rely upon the Cardinals good nature, they at last concluded their Treaty with *Spain* to furnish them with sufficient Forces. They likewise raised others in the Country of *Leige*, and hostilities began on both sides, by plundering and carrying away every thing that enter'd the Principality of *Sedan* or *Champagne*, ever since the beginning of *April*. The Cardinal ordered some Troops to advance on that side, under the Marquis de *Sourdis*, till the Marechal de *Chatillon* could put himself at the head of an Army, which was designed to act against them.

At this time the Princess *Ann de Gonzaga*, whom the King had forbidden to remove out of *Burgundy*, pass'd into *Champagne*, with a design to reside in *Sedan* near her Lover: But the Vicount de *Tavanes*, who commanded some Troops in that Province, being informed of it, caused her to be stopt till such time as he receiv'd an Order from Court what to do. The Courier whom he sent, brought him word, that he was not only to suffer this Princess to pass on in her journey, but likewise to furnish her with as many Coaches and Horses as she might have occasion for. It was believed that she would only help to perplex the Duke of *Guise's* affairs; but the principal reason why they suffer'd her to pass on, was because the Cardinal desir'd that the Duke might marry her out  
of.

of hand, that so his Benefices might come to be vacant. 1641.

In the mean time, these Princes order'd their men to work night and day upon the Fortifications of *Sedan*, and made Magazines of all things necessary to make a vigorous resistance, in case they were attackt. The Cardinal, who had really reduced them to these extremities, by accusing them before they had done any thing, and by ill using them, began now to fear in his turn, that he had embarked in a very dangerous affair. If they besieg'd *Sedan*, they might happen to come off with the worst, this place being defended by desperate people; and if it was not attackt, it was to be feared, that as soon as these Princes had an Army, they would make excursions into the heart of the Kingdom. In case they gain'd any advantages at first, it was reasonable to apprehend that vast numbers of people would flock to them, and so their party become very formidable.

These considerations made the Cardinal appear extremely irresolute and full of distrust. Sometimes he talked of giving no quarter to the Kings Enemies, but entirely destroying them; at other times he seem'd not unwilling to enter into some composition, and seem'd to repent that he had provok'd so many people to despair, who were really in a better case to make themselves be fear'd, than he at first imagin'd. Thus when the Ambassador of the States General spoke to the Cardinal of the Mediation of his Masters to accommodate this affair, by reason of the interest which the Prince of *Orange* had in the Duke of *Bonillon's* preservation, he was at first listned to by the Minister with great attention.

Another thing happen'd at this time, which gave him a great deal of disturbance. He learnt of the King, that *Bullion*, the Superintendent of the Finances, had told him that all the Money for the Marine and the Artillery was spent: (The Cardinal was Intendant of the Marine, and his Cousin, the Marechal de la *Meilleraye*, Grand Master of the Artillery) That the Cardinal was the Author of this War, and only kept it up for his private ends: That he knew  
not

1641.

not where to find any more Money to support it ; but that if he would be pleased to grant a few years Peace to his Kingdom, he would take care to lay up such considerable summs, that they should be sufficient to carry on any design whatever, in which his Majesty had a mind to engage himself. At last, *Bullion* begg'd of his Majesty not to speak a syllable of this to his Eminence, because if he came to know of it, he would never suffer him to dye in his Bed. The King gave him his promise, and believing what he told him was true, kept his word with him, and said nothing of it to the Cardinal till the Superintendant was dead. The haughty Minister answer'd the King, *That he was sorry his Majesty cited a dead Witness* ; and the King replyed, That he had forborn to speak of it while *Bullion* was alive, because the latter told him, that if the Cardinal knew of it he should certainly be destroy'd.

\* See an  
Abridgm.  
of the Cam-  
pagne of  
1641. in  
Aubery's  
Mem. T  
2. p. 135.  
\* See it in  
the Mem. of  
Montresor  
P. 365.

The Negotiation of the Ambassador of the States came to nothing, not from the Cardinal's being inflexible, but because the Duke of *Bouillon* rejected the propositions which the Ambassador made. Whether he was of opinion, that it was to no purpose to reconcile himself to a man, whose hatred was never extinguish'd but only in appearance, or whether his vanity kept him from making any submissions to his Enemy, as it was propos'd to him, he resolv'd to see whether he might not gain some advantage by force of arms, before he made an Accommodation. \* The *Mareschal de Chatillon*, went to put himself at the head of the Army of *Champagne* in *May*, and the King advanced as far as *Abbeville*, to be nearer *Artou*, where he design'd to besiege *Aire*, as we have already taken notice. Here the King published a Declaration bearing date on the 8th of *June*, \* wherein, after he had observ'd that the Princes who were at *Sedan*, had committed several hostilities and joyned themselves to *Spain*, he order'd all his Subjects to take them for declared Enemies, if they did not within a month acknowledge their fault, and submit themselves to his Majesty's Clemency.

In answer to this Declaration, the Princes made a long Manifesto dated the 2d of July, but it did not appear in public till after the Battel of *Sedan*, which put an end to this Affair. However, as it was purposely contriv'd to serve as a Foundation for a longer War, I will give the Reader an Abridgment of it, before I proceed to the relation of that Battel. It was entituled \* a *Manifesto for the satisfaction of the Princes of the Peace*, tho the Count of *Soissons* only speaks. After he had said that his Conscience obliged him to publish the ill designs of the Cardinal, which he had so long forbore to do, that his Majesty might have the entire Glory of chastising this imperious Minister, who had assumed upon him the Royal authority, he continues, "That it was four years since he had been obliged to retire to *Sedan*, to live there in security, and that he had refused to go any where else, that he might not give the Cardinal an opportunity to accuse him of being an Enemy to *France* : That nevertheless the Cardinal had sought all imaginable means to destroy him, and to make himself master of *Sedan*, altho the D. of *Bouillon* had not done any thing which ought to deprive him of his Majesty's protection : That no ways had been left unattempted to acquaint the King with the ill conduct of his Minister, but that this had produced no other effect, but the imprisonment and ruin of those persons who had done it : That consequently there was a necessity to employ the noise of arms, that equity and reason might be heard : That after several deliberations, in concert with the Dukes of *Guise* and of *Bouillon*, and several other Princes, and Officers of the Crown, he declared the Cardinal to be the greatest and most dangerous Enemy of the King and State : That he had made himself master of the strongest places of the Kingdom, and seized the Mouths of the principal Rivers, Ports, and Islands in the Ocean, and in general all the securities of *France* : That to maintain himself in this Usurpation, he ruin'd the rest of the Kingdom by War, to put the people out of a condition to recover what he had usurped : That he designed to deliver the King into the hands of

those

1641.

Ib. 373.



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" those to whom he was allied (*he means the Duke of*  
 " *Enguien, who had lately married one of his Nieces*)  
 " and that he endeavour'd to approach the Crown,  
 " altho it was the interest of *France* to keep him at a  
 " distance from it: That if he could not accomplish  
 " this design, he was in a condition to give his Rela-  
 " tions the Keys of the Realm, to open and shut the  
 " gates of Traffick, and starve the great Cities when  
 " they pleased: That the King and Monsieur perceiv-  
 " ed it well enough, but durst not speak of it, and  
 " that the Count of *Soissons* affirmed it in the name of  
 " the whole Royal Family: That this design of his e-  
 " vidently appear'd, in that he had made the best years  
 " of the Duke and Dutchess of *Orleans* barren: That  
 " there was reason to fear that he design'd to secure  
 " himself from the power of his Majesty's Justice, that  
 " so he might not give an account of his unjust misap-  
 " plication of the Finances, and the suppression of so  
 " many innocent people: That he had rashly engaged  
 " the reputation of the King, dissipated his Treasures,  
 " prodigally thrown away the Blood of the Nobility  
 " and Souldiers, and reduced the people to the last  
 " misery, to satisfy his passions, and carry on his own  
 " particular quarrels: That the only reason why he  
 " had declar'd the War, was to support his own au-  
 " thority, which he thought he should never be able  
 " to preserve but in times of trouble: That he had  
 " rendred all those whom he design'd to destroy, sus-  
 " pected of High Treason, in order to turn them out  
 " of their places, which he either took into his own  
 " hands, or conferr'd upon those that promised to  
 " maintain him in his Tyranny: That he had ruin'd  
 " the best Families in the Kingdom, to raise his own,  
 " and had reduced several good Houses to misery to  
 " enrich persons of no merit, birth, and fortune:  
 " That he drained *France* of its Money, to send it in  
 " specie to foreign Countries, and fill'd the Kingdom  
 " with Money of a base alloy: That he had bought at  
 " too excessive rates, both of the *Swedes* and others,  
 " places which he was not able to keep, as *Philipsburg*;  
 " or must, when a Peace comes, surrender without  
 " reimbursement, as *Brisac* and others: That he had  
 " in-

“ indiscreetly squander’d away the Finances in *Italy* to 1641.  
 “ acquire himself friends, whom he afterwards ruin’d;  
 “ and thus render’d the protection which his Majesty  
 “ had given to the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Sa-*  
 “ *voy* contemptible, and of no effect: That he had  
 “ made some attempts in *Spain*, which only tended  
 “ to the dishonour of *France*, and gain’d some Con-  
 “ quelts in the *Low Countries*, which were a charge  
 “ to the State, and only proper to render the War  
 “ everlasting: That he had burthen’d the Kingdom  
 “ with an infinite number of Officers, and dryed up  
 “ the ordinary sources of the Finances, by selling, or  
 “ engaging the Demeans and Aids to so high a price,  
 “ that a man could not make up his Money again,  
 “ without committing a great deal of injustice: That  
 “ he had forced several Orders to elect him for their  
 “ General, as the *Cistercians*, the *Clarevallenses*, and  
 “ the *Pramonstratenses*; by imprisoning abundance of  
 “ the Religious, who would not give him their Votes:  
 “ That as for the other Orders, he had engag’d them  
 “ by a thousand artifices to elect Vicar Generals in  
 “ *France*, that they might have no more communi-  
 “ cation with *Rome*, and that he might make himself  
 “ Head of the *Gallican Church* for Spirituals as well  
 “ as Temporals: That the King had no Allies that  
 “ could assist him, as being all a charge to his Ma-  
 “ jesty, and only able to make feeble diversions at the  
 “ expence of *France*: That those whom the Cardinal  
 “ thought capable to oppose his arbitrary proceeding,  
 “ had been delivered into the hands of the Execution-  
 “ ner, after they had been condemned by wicked, cor-  
 “ rupt Commissioners of his own nomination, or rot-  
 “ ted in Prison, or were banish’d the Court: That he  
 “ with inhuman ingratitude had turn’d out the Queen  
 “ Mother, and treated all the Princes and Noblemen  
 “ of the Kingdom in a most arrogant manner: That  
 “ he had violated or annihilated all the Laws, and all  
 “ the Ordinances of the Kingdom, under the specious  
 “ pretence of the absolute will and authority of the  
 “ King: That he had robbed the Provinces, and com-  
 “ munities of their ancient Franchises, and vacated  
 “ the contracts they had made with former Kings:  
 “ That

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"That he had grossly abused the Princes, Dukes,  
 "Peers, Mareschals of *France*, and other Officers of  
 "the Crown: That he had caused several innocent  
 "Noblemen to be Condemned by Commissioners de-  
 "pendant upon himself, and imprison'd them without  
 "any form of process: That some Bishops had been  
 "judg'd contrary to the known Laws of the Land, o-  
 "ther Ecclesiastics depriv'd of their Benefices, and all  
 "of them obliged, besides the ordinary tenths, to pay  
 "prodigious sums, and more than one third of their  
 "revenue, to maintain a company of Pyrates at Sea  
 "that were commanded by an Archbishop; and by  
 "Land, an Army of sacrilegious Russians that pillag'd  
 "Churches, and were set on by a Cardinal: That he  
 "had treated in a most extreme ill manner the two  
 "Archbishops, Presidents of the last Assembly of the  
 "Clergy, for representing to him the miserable con-  
 "dition of the Ecclesiastics of *France*, who had gi-  
 "ven five millions and a half, above the ordinary  
 "Tenths. That several Noblemen had been severely  
 "fined, forced to the *Arriere-ban*, and deprived of  
 "their employments, meerly because they were not of  
 "his Faction. That the Presidents and Counsellors of  
 "the Sovereign Courts had been suspended, turn'd out,  
 "and imprison'd, when they spoke for the real advan-  
 "tage of the King and People, or oppos'd his inno-  
 "vations, which tended to the disgrace and ruin of the  
 "Kingdom: That several Officers of Justice, and the  
 "Finances, had been undone by researches and new  
 "regulations: That the City of *Paris*, after all the  
 "extraordinary Aids they had given his Majesty, had  
 "been severely taxed like other Towns, and that its  
 "Burghers had been taxed at discretion, under the  
 "pretty name of *Benevolences*: That all the rest that  
 "had been exempt from such burthens, were to pay  
 "the same, so long as the War lasted, that is to say,  
 "so long as Cardinal *Richlieu* continued in the Mi-  
 "nistry: That great imposts were laid upon merchan-  
 "dise, and that they levied the twentieth penny up-  
 "on the most necessary things belonging to humane  
 "life: That the Country was desolated by Soldiers,  
 "and the keepers of Salt, which reduced the poor  
 "Peasants

"Peasants to the food and hard lodgings of Beasts, 1647:  
 "or forced them to dye of Famine, or to take Arms, or  
 "to beg; that agriculture was stoppt, which infinitely  
 "incommoded the Ecclesiasticks, the Nobility and  
 "the Burghers.

These were the complaints brought against Cardinal *Richlieu*, the greatest part of which were without question very well grounded. The mischief was, that the world believ'd, that if those who censur'd his conduct with so much reason had been to take his place, they would have committed the same violence, and yet had not been capable to carry it off, with a quarter of that good management which the Cardinal discover'd.

Left these discontented Princes and Lords should be branded for being Enemies to their Country, they said that they had taken all necessary precautions, that the Emperour and King of *Spain* should lay down their Arms along with them, so soon as they could conjointly obtain a sure and honourable Peace, which they believed could never be durable while as the Cardinal had power to break it, as he had done the Treaty of *Ratisbone*, and as long as every one did not enjoy what of right belonged to him: That they took up Arms with no other prospect but to settle a lasting peace, which the Cardinal seem'd in appearance to desire, but did not so in reality: That it was but natural they should defend themselves as well as they were able, against the violent and treacherous proceedings of the Minister. In fine, they exhorted the three Estates of the Kingdom to join them, to obtain satisfaction for the great wrongs the Cardinal had done them, promising nevertheless to treat with all civility such as were willing to continue Neuters, and declared the Cardinal and his Adherers to be Enemies to the King and State, whom they threatned to treat with all imaginable rigour.

The Parliament of *Paris*, before this Declaration arriv'd, made an *Arrêt*, whereby they declar'd all those to be guilty of High Treason, that kept any letters or correspondence with these Malecontents, or assisted and assisted them in any manner. In the mean time

1641. the Mareſchal de Chatillon enter'd into the Principality of Sedan, before the Enemies were in a condition to take the Field, without doing any thing remarkable there. But Lamboi having joyn'd theſe Princes at the beginning of July, they marched together on the 5th of that month, with eight thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, to fight the Mareſchal, who had a thouſand Horſe and a thouſand Foot more than they had. \* The Mareſchal had poſitive Orders not to hazard a Battel, and he only propos'd to himſelf to hinder them from paſſing the *Meuſe*, and entering the Kingdom, according to the inſtructions he had received. But the Enemies having paſſed the River, within a quarter of a league of his Camp, before the Mareſchal's Guards perceiv'd it; as he march'd the next day towards the River, expecting the Enemy might attempt to paſs it, he found to his ſurprize that their Army march'd towards him, near the Wood of *Murſee*. He immediately put himſelf in Battel array in very good order, while the Enemy did the ſame, in a place too narrow, and much leſs advantageous, ſo that in all probability they would be beaten. The Mareſchal's Right Wing began the Battel with ſome advantage, but the Cavalry of the Left Wing, poſſeſt by I know not what ſort of a pannic fear, turn'd back upon their own Foot, whom they put into diſorder; ſo that the Royal Infantry being attackt by the Princes, was broken after ſome reſiſtance, and fled with the Horſe, which it was impoſſible to perſwade to rally again. This movement carried away the Right Wing, and the Mareſchal was oblig'd to retreat as the reſt had done. Whiſt the other part of the Army fled in this manner, the Regiment of *Rouſſillon*, and two Companies of Horſe of the Queen Mother, with that of *Monſieur*, who were in a manner the only Troops that did any ſervice, pierc'd to the very place where the Count de *Soiſſons* was. This Prince ſeeing his men give way, march'd directly to the Enemy, to ſuſtain the ſhock; and as he expos'd himſelf like a common Souldier, he was wounded with a Piſtol ſhot in his Face, which penetrated his Head, ſo he fell down dead at his Horſe's feet. Some ſay it

\*Siri Mer.

T. i. l. 2. p.

418. The

Relation of

the Battel of

Sedan in

the Mem. of

Montreſor

p. 39.

head

was



was a Souldier belonging to the Company of Monfieur, who shot him without knowing him; others, that it was one of the Count's own Guards. However it was, these three Companies of Horse, that had the bravery to combat a victorious Enemy, were intirely cut in pieces. The Royal Army lost five hundred men, the rest escaping with that haste into the neighbouring Woods, that the Enemy could not follow them. Nevertheless there were two thousand taken Prisoners, and among them several Officers of note. The Malecontents did also gain the Cannon, all the Baggage, and lost but very few men. But the death of the Count *de Soissons*, which dispirited the whole party, was infinitely more fatal to them, than the victory was advantageous. The Mareschal *de Chatillon* retir'd to *Retbel*, where he stay'd to pick up the remainder of his Army, and the Mareschal *de Breze*, to whom he was by no means well affected; was \* *The 15 of* sent to command with him, in order to mortify him, July. because he had transgressed his Orders. In the mean time *Lamboy* took *Dunchery*, which made a gallant resistance, but being not fortified, was obliged to surrender. The Royal Army being reinforced by several Bodies, was on the march, when the King arriv'd thither, to retake this place, which he \* *The 31 of* reduced in two days, *Lamboy* not daring to oppose him. July. At last, as they put all things in readiness to go and attack *Sedan*, unless the Duke made an accommodation suddenly, he thought it not convenient to wait the consequences of a Siege. The King granted to the Duke and to all those of his party, \* *See it in* Letters of Pardon, and a neutrality to the principality of *Sedan*, that the Mem. of it might not be exposed to the excursions of the Spaniards. However *Lamboy* went to joyn the Imperial Army near *Aire*, as I have already observed. The Aubery. Duke came in person to *Dunchery*, to make his Obedience to his Majesty there, and 'tis reported that the T. 2. p. 736. and the Articles of Accommodation in 1611. Mer. T. 2. p. 15. Cardinal so highly esteem'd his conduct in this whole affair, that he said, "That if it had not been a Rebellion, he would have preferr'd it to all the undertakings of the famous *Spinola*. Thus our fortunate Minister saw a terrible storm, which threatned his head,

1641. head, and which broke out at first in a signal victory, to scatter of it self by the death of one of his greatest Enemies. But notwithstanding this the Duke of *Bouillon* did not become his friend, as we shall see in the history of the following year.

1642.

\* S<sup>r</sup>

M. r. T. 2.

l. 1. p. 362.

The Bishop of *Nice* \* and the other Agents of the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas* his Brother, obtained, after a long negotiation, at *Madrid*, that better care should be taken to assist these Princes than had been done the last Campaign. They granted to the Cardinal provisions of all sorts, as much as should last a year, for the County of *Nice*, together with the pensions they had promis'd him and his Brother. Particular Orders were dispatched to the Count *de Sirvela*, Governour of *Milan*, to furnish these Princes exactly with what they had promis'd them. But as Prince *Thomas* was to be General in Chief of the *Spanish* Army, and to share authority with *Sirvela*, the latter, who envied the great advantages of this Prince, forgot nothing which might render him suspected to the Court of *Madrid*, not remembring the Interests of the Crown, which required that this Prince should be well used, who was able to do a great deal of mischief to *France*, and was the only person capable to command the *Spanish* Army in *Italy*. The Governor of *Milan* sent his accounts to *Madrid*, by which it appeared that the Princes of *Savoy* were much in debt to the Treasury of *Milan*, so far was he from putting the Court in mind of the arrears of their pensions. Altho Count *Masserati*, Agent to Prince *Thomas*, very plainly discover'd the gross falsity of these accounts, yet the Count-Duke prepossess'd in *Sirvela's* behalf, would not listen to him. The Princes of *Savoy* having received this news from *Madrid*, thought now of accommodating themselves in good earnest with *France*, and to do it the more handsomely, they sent to acquaint the Count *de Sirvela*, that the King of *France* was ready to surrender all the places he held in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*, provided the *Spaniards* would do the same on their side. The Count made answer, that he had no power to treat about an affair of that consequence; which gave the Princes a plausible

plausible occasion to renew all the complaints they had made against the Ministers of *Spain*, and to say particularly, that the *Spaniards* had a design to strip the House of *Savoy*, and not to assist it against *France*, as they had pretended.

Several Negotiations passed upon this, and some other difficulties between the Princes of *Savoy* and the Count, but at last the *Spaniards* not giving them that satisfaction they demanded, they made their accommodation with *France*, and with the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, which was concluded at *Turin* \* on the 14th \* of *June*. To effect it with more security, they caus'd a report to be spread before hand, that the *French* went to besiege *Trino* in *Montferrat*, and pray'd *Sirvela* to send some men thither with all possible speed. The Count suffering himself to be intrapt, drew out the *Spaniards* that were in *Yvrce*, to march that way, but afterwards Prince *Thomas* would not let them come in again. The Cardinal of *Savoy* likewise turn'd *Tuttavilla*, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, out of *Nice*, making him embark by himself, without suffering him to speak to any one, in a Brigandine, under pretence that they had received advice that he design'd to surprize the Castle of *Villa Franca*. After this it was no difficult matter to turn out the Troops that were destitute of their Leader, so that the Cardinal found himself in a condition to conclude with *France* and his Sister-in-Law, without running any hazard. He afterwards married his own Neice, daughter to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, altho there was a great disparity between their ages.

The Duke of *Longueville* was ordered to command the Army in *Italy*, and Prince *Thomas* concerted measures with him, to regain the places which the *Spaniards* still held in *Piedmont*, and to attack the *Milanese*. This they began to perform with great success, while *Italy* was embroil'd in the War of the *Barberines* against the Duke of *Parma*, as I shall hereafter observe.

The States General of the \* *United Provinces* having \* resolved to act only upon the defensive this year, the *Spaniards* had no occasion to oppose them with a considerable Body of men. So they turned the whole

1642. forces of the *Low Countries* against *France*, and attackt *Lens* on the 17th of *April*, with an Army of twenty five thousand men, commanded by *D. Francisco de Mello*, Governor of the *Low Countries*. *D. Anisy*, who was Governor of the place, acquitted himself so ill in his duty, that the Enemy took part of the Outworks without any resistance, and enter'd into it by composition on the 19th. The Count d' *Harcourt*, who commanded ten thousand men in *Picardy*, being inform'd of his Cowardice, condemn'd him by a Council of War to have his Head struck off, if he could be taken, or to be executed in Effigies in the Market-place at *Peronne*, in case they could not apprehend him. Upon the news of *Lens* being besieg'd, the Marechal de *Guiche*, with a small Army which he had to cover *Champagne*, marcht to the relief of the place; but when he heard it was surrender'd he went to *Peronne*, which was the rendezvous of the Count d' *Harcourt*'s Army, whom he was to joyn.

• Antoine de Grammont who was made Marechal of France, the 22 of Sep. 1641.

A few days after the taking of *Lens*, *D. Francisco de Mello* went to lay Siege to *Bassée*, a small place, well fortified by the *French* since it was in their hands. The *Spanish* General needed not many Pioneers to work on the Circumvallation, because it was cover'd by the River *Lis*, and several Canals into which the Country is cut, except on one side for the compass of a league, where he made his Retrenchments so strong, that it was impossible to force them. The *French* sent fifteen thousand men to observe them, but durst not attack them; and altho the Siege went on slowly, by reason of the brave resistance of the Garrison, nevertheless the *Spaniards* carried the Outworks by little and little; so that *Bourdonne*, Governor of the place, having no hopes to be relieved, surrendred it on the 13th of *May*, upon very honourable conditions. The Garrison, which had been at the beginning three thousand strong, had not then above two thousand four hundred, several of which were sick or wounded.

The *Spanish* Army stay'd within their Lines till the 24th of *May*, [after] which they separated in two bodies, to oblige the *French*, who were weaker than they,



they, to do the same. The Count d' *Harcourt* went to encamp near *Hedin*, at the Abbey of *Certamp*; and the *Mareschal de Gniche* near *Catelet*, at that of *Honnecourt*. The latter had intrench'd himself slightly enough near a Wood, which he thought to be impenetrable by an Army, and therefore had not made any Retrenchments on that side. Whether D. *Francisco de Mello* was inform'd of it or no, he march'd directly to him with the greatest part of his Forces. \* While they attackt the Retrenchments on one side, \* The 26 of on the other they entred the Wood, by dislodging May. some of the *French* that were there, and put themselves in Battel between the Wood and the Camp. Altho the *French* fought with a great deal of Bravery, and return'd several times to the Charge, yet being much inferiour in number, they were at last oblig'd to give way and fly. They lost fifteen hundred men, and left above two thousand Prisoners in the hands of the *Spaniards*, who likewise gain'd the greatest part of the Colours, and an hundred thousand Crowns in Money, which was design'd for the payment of the Army. They on their side lost but very few men, and might almost have taken the whole *French* Army Prisoners, if they had pursued them with more vigour. The *Mareschal*, grown desperate to see himself defeated, stay'd a long time in the Abbey on purpose to be made a Prisoner, and it was not without a great deal of difficulty, that he was perswaded to leave it.

After the loss of this Battel, *Picardy*, which was destitute of forces sufficient to defend it, expected to be pillaged in a few days, because the King was then in *Roussillon*, as I shall observe anon, and could not put things in order there. But the *Spanish* General, instead of making the best advantage of his Victory, \* The King stay'd a long time to deliberate whether he should march into *Germany* to fall upon the \* *Mareschal de Guebriant*, or else enter *France* to oblige the Armies which attackt *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*, to come and defend their own Kingdom. It was believed that D. *Francisco de Mello* would not fail to do the latter, at least after he had repos'd himself a few days; but court.



1642. he did not resolve what measures to take, pretending that he had receiv'd Orders from *Madrid*, not to engage the Army in any considerable enterprize, because the Court of *Spain* had thoughts to employ them upon another occasion, which I shall mention anon, but was already past, and the Governor of the *Low Countries* knew nothing of it.

The Cardinal was at *Frontignan* when he receiv'd the news of the Marechal's defeat (who had married one of his Relations) and how much he took to heart: So he writ him this Letter, which I thought it not amiss to set down. *Men may do all that prudence, and the present occasions suggest to them, but the event is in the hand of God. The best Captain in the world may lose a Battel; and when such a misfortune befalls him, he ought to comfort himself, if he did all that he could and ought to do. Take heart therefore, my poor Count, and omit nothing that lies in your power, to hinder this accident, which has happen'd to you, from being attended with any ill consequences. If I had a strong Arm, I would offer it to you, but in whatever condition I am, be assured that I am entirely yours. The 6th of June, 1642.* The irresolute proceedings of D. *Francisco de Mello* deliver'd the Marechal out of his apprehensions; and this blow, which rightly manag'd, might have destroy'd the Cardinal himself, did not shake his authority in the least.

\* Sir  
Mer. 1. 2.  
l. 2. p. 88.

At last, the designs of the \* Master of the Horse, of which I shall speak immediately, being discover'd, and the Duke of *Bouillon* apprehended, the *Spaniards* imagin'd that if they advanced towards *Sedan*, the Dutcheses of *Bouillon*, Mother and Wife to the Duke who was now a Prisoner, would, to revenge his quarrel, open the Gates of this important place to them, or at least grant them a free passage into *Champagne*. But the Dutcheses considering that the Duke's life depended upon their good conduct, absolutely refus'd it, so that he retir'd to *Mons*, where General *Bec* lay. In the mean \* time, D. *Andre Cantelmo* made an irruption with six thousand Foot and twelve hundred Horse, into the *Bulonnais*, where he seiz'd upon several Forts and important Posts between the Cities of

\* In the  
month of  
August.

Grave-

*Graveline, Calais, and Ardes.* But the Count d' Harcourt having immediately sent the Marquis de Seneterre, with two thousand Foot and six hundred Horse, he follow'd soon after himself, and so they presently put a stop to the progress of *Cantelmo*. The Count regain'd in the space of four and twenty hours, and that with the greatest ease imaginable, all that *Cantelmo* had been gaining with difficulty in six days. The Country suffer'd exceedingly by this invasion of the *Spamards*; however they did not divert the forces that were employ'd against them in *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*, and attempted nothing more considerable in the *Low Countries* for the rest of the year. Thus the ill conduct of the Count-Duke, and of the other Ministers of *Spain*, made that Crown lose the best opportunity they could have desired, to humble *France*, by carrying the War into the heart of the Kingdom, as the *French* endeavour'd to do in relation to *Spain*. One may remark upon this occasion, as upon several more, that the great incapacity of the Count-Duke made the conduct of the Cardinal-Duke to be so much admired; which had frequently appear'd but very indifferent, had he been to deal with people that had been Masters but of common prudence and discretion.

To come now to the affairs of *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*; ever since the beginning of this year, it had been resolv'd to undertake the Conquest of *Roussillon*, which was absolutely necessary, either to cover the Frontiers of *France* on that side, or to support the Rebellion of the *Catalonians*, to whom it would be a difficult matter to send relief, if they were not in possession of *Roussillon*. Besides, *France* pretended to have a right to that Country, which is the reason why she has not surrendered it since. Over and above \* these reasons of State, the Cardinal, who perceiv'd that the King was grown somewhat cold towards him, was willing to engage him in some considerable enterprize, which as long as it lay upon his hands, he should not be in a condition to part with him. This Prince, who had began to fall into a languishing distemper, of which he died some \* months after the Cardinal, was unwilling at first to make this Voyage, as contrary to his health. The Chief

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\* Siri  
Mer. T. 2.  
l. 2. p. 566.

\* The 14 of  
May 1643.

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Chief Physician was of the same opinion, and the Master of the Horse seconded him in private before the King. But the Cardinal so order'd matters that the Chief Physician soon after chang'd his discourse, and his Majesty resolv'd to go thither. It seems the Cardinal only design'd that the King should go to *Languedoc*\*, without coming in person to the Siege of *Perpignan*, at least he testified as much afterwards.

\* See the  
Kings Letter to the  
Chancellor,  
in Aubrey's Mem.  
T. 2. p. 842.

This resolution being taken, the King order'd twenty two thousand effective men, of the best Troops in the Kingdom, to march on the side of *Narbonne*, and these were to be joyn'd by the other forces that were already in *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, besides abundance of Volunteers. In the mean time the *Mareschal de Breze*, Vice-roy of *Catalonia*, and *La Mothe Houdancourt* had orders to observe the *Spaniards* upon the Frontiers of *Aragon*, to hinder them from sending any relief into *Roussillon* through *Catalonia*.

Before the King parted for *Languedoc*, all possible care was taken for the security of the other Frontiers of the Kingdom, during his Majesty's absence. Orders were given to the Count *de Guebriant*, who still commanded the remainder of the Duke of *Weymar's* Army, not to stir from the *Rhine*, near which he was posted, in the Electorate of *Cölen*, lest the Armies of the House of *Austria* should attempt any thing against *France* on that side. The P. of *Orange* sent him one party of his Horse, at the earnest instances of the Cardinal, who threaten'd the States to take away the Regiments from them which the King entertain'd in their Army, if they would not assist the Count in this occasion, where the *Spaniards* had sent fourscore Troops of Horse to act upon the *Rhine*. Care was also taken to send three thousand men to Count *d'Erloach* in *Alsacia*, for the defence of those places which he there held for *France*. *Du Hallier* commanded in *Lorraine*, and the Count *de Grancey* in *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* was to go and joyn the Army in *Italy*, to command it with the Duke of *Longueville*: and provision was made for *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Champagne*, as I have already observ'd.

All things being disposed after this manner, the Cardinal advis'd the King to carry the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* along with him, lest there should be any caballing against his Ministry in his absence. He was of opinion too that the Children of *France* should be left at *Bois de Vincennes*, under a good Guard, where they could run no manner of danger. These strange counsels, which suppos'd that the State was in danger, unless the persons that were most concern'd in its preservation were under the eyes or guard of the Minister, gave his enemies an occasion to say that he endeavour'd to destroy the King, and make himself Regent of the Kingdom. Perhaps he had no such design in his head, but his austere and haughty way of treating the most eminent persons at Court, did every day increase the number of his Enemies, and made them say some things, which otherwise they had never spoken. The Queen broke this design which the King had form'd to carry her with him, by telling him all in tears, that she could never endure to be separated from her Children; and, as it was not thought advisable to expose them to so tedious a Journey, the King gave her leave to stay with him at *St. Germain's*. The Prince of *Conde* was left at *Paris* with the Title of Regent, during his Majesty's absence, and two hundred men assign'd him for his Guard.

Towards the beginning of the year, the Troops march'd on the side of *Lyons*, and were follow'd by the Marechal de *La Meilleraye*, who was to command them, and by the Vicount de *Turenne*, who had the quality of Lieutenant General. The Duke of *Rouillon* likewise arrived at *Paris* on the 22d of *January*, there to receive the command of the Armies in *Italy*. He went afterwards to see the King at *St. Germain's*, and the Cardinal at *Ruel*, where he was extremely well received. However, 'tis reported that the Cardinal advis'd him to take care, never to engage himself in any design for the future, which tended to embroil the Kingdom; telling him that a relapse would be mortal. The Duke did not much regard this advice, as what follows will discover; and the Cardinal's prediction was accomplish'd.



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Before the Generals parted from *Paris*, the Cardinal regaled them magnificently at his Palace, with Monsieur, and several of the Nobility. In the same Hall there was a second Table for the Ladies, which was serv'd with the same magnificence. The Repast was follow'd with a Comedy, which was expressly acted for this occasion.

After *Candlemas* the King began his Journey, accompanied by the Cardinal, and both of them flatter'd themselves that they should be able to carry the War into the bowels of *Spain*, and overthrow that Monarchy, by causing a general insurrection of its Subjects, after the conquest of *Rouffillon*; but neither of them knew that Death would soon put an end to all the unjust projects which the Master and his Disciple (for what fitter name can we give them) had laid for so many years; the one through weakness, the other through ambition. The King being at *Lyons*, made a review of his Troops that were quarter'd about that City, and amounted to fifteen thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse.

The *Spaniards* receiving advice of the great preparations made by the King of *France*, his Catholic Majesty issued out \* Letters of Pardon to the *Catalomians*,

\* The 4 of  
January.

Siri Merc.

T. 2. l. 1.

p. 50.

\* lb. l. 2.

p. 133.

if they would return to their duty, promising to give them all manner of satisfaction as to their complaints, and to maintain them in all their Rights and Privileges. But this remedy, which might have been effectual at first, did not produce the effect intended, because the

*Catalomians* durst not rely upon it. \* The Ministers of *Spain* were likewise inform'd, about the beginning of the Year, that there was so great a scarcity of victuals at *Perpignan*, that it would be a difficult matter for them to hold out a few weeks longer. So they sent provisions to *Collioure*, which were to be guarded by six thousand men as far as *Perpignan*. The Marechal de *Breze* being posted upon a small River called *Baranco*, with seven thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, put himself in a posture to hinder them from entering the Town. However, the Marquis de *Torrecuse*, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, found means in the night time to send forty Mules laden with provisions



provisions into *Perpignan*, and the *French* knew nothing of the matter. A few days after, \* *Torrenewse* conducted more relief and victuals into the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Mareschal* to prevent it, but this was not done, without coming to blows. The *French* had almost always the worst in three or four rencounters; and the *Marquis*, after he had placed some Regiments in *Perpignan*, carried the rest of his Troops back to *Collioure*, without loss, altho the *French* pursued him. From thence, leaving the *Marquis de Mortare* Governor of the place, he went to *Castile*, where his conduct was extremely commended. In the mean time, *La Mothe Houdancourt* surpriz'd a Quarter of the *Spanish* Troops, commanded by the *Marquis d'Inoyosa*, within a few leagues of *Valz*, and oblig'd him to retire to *Tarragone*. Not long after, the *Mareschal de Breze* made a solemn entry into *Barcelona*, and on \* the 23<sup>d</sup> of *February* swore, in his Majesty's name, to preserve the Privileges and Franchises of the *Catalonians*.

1642.  
\* Towards  
the end of  
January.

\* See the  
Act of it in  
Siri Merc.  
T. 2. l. 1.

P. 137.

\* lb. 313.

The King parted the same day from *Lyons*, and \* took the way to *Narbonne*. Being at *Valence*, he gave with his own hands a Cardinals Cap to *Mazarine*; who from that time wholly devoted himself to, the service of the Crown. The King, altho he was somewhat indisposed, yet he pursued his Journey to *Narbonne*, through all the inconveniences of Frost and Snow; and there on the 23<sup>d</sup> of *March* created two *Mareschals* of *France*, the Count de *Guebriants*, and *La Mothe Houdancourt*. Nor did the rigour of the season retard the motion of the Army, which on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *March* went to besiege *Collioure*, a place of great consequence, defended by the *Marquis de Mortare*, with three thousand men in garrison. This Port was necessary to the *French*, both to hinder the *Spaniards* from relieving *Roussillon*, as also to make use of it themselves. The Count-Duke knowing the importance of it, sent orders to *D. Pedro de Arragon*, *Marquis de Povar*, who commanded the Army in *Catalonia*, to advance with all his Cavalry to *Collioure*, and to hazard all in the relief of the place. The Mar-

quis

1 6.4.2. quis represented to him how difficult it was to march through *Catalonia*, a mountainous uneven Country and full of defiles, in spite of *la Mothe Houdancourt*, who guarded all the passes with extraordinary care. Besides this, it was the highest indiscretion imaginable to hazard the only Horse which *Spain* had on that side for its defence. But the Count, who was positive and inflexible, and naturally affected to have sentiments particular to himself, did not change his opinion, but dispatched Orders afresh to the Marquis, who now prepar'd to see them executed, whatever they cost him. After he had made some movements, the better to conceal his march from the Enemies, he took the road from *Ville-Franche* to *Martorel*, with three thousand five hundred Horse. But on the 26th of *March* he could not hinder the *Mareschal de la Mothe*, who suspected his design, from cutting part of his Rear in pieces at the pass of the River *Herbergue*. Two days after, *la Mothe* gave another attack to the *Spaniards* at the pass of another River, pass'd it after them and oblig'd them to retire into a Wood, after he had killed abundance of their men; so that *D. Pedro d' Arragon* resolv'd at last, in spite of the reiterated Orders from *Madrid*, to return to *Tarragone*. As he took but small store of Victuals along with him, thinking he should be able to cross *Catalonia* in a few days, they now began to fail him, and the *French* on the other side keeping his Army perpetually in breath, his Troops were extremely fatigued without being able to perform any thing. At last on the 31st of *March*, being surrounded on all sides by the *French* and the *Catalonians*, without any possibility of making his escape, *D. Pedro d' Arragon* surrendered himself prisoner of War to *la Mothe Houdancourt* with about two thousand Horse. Thus the principal Troops which *Spain* had for its own preservation, were destroyed by the ill advice of the Count-Duke, who engaged them in an enterprize which any one else would have found extremely difficult, but was absolutely impossible for the Marquis *de Po- var* to effect. The *French* Generals immediately set the *Portugueses* at liberty, because they were in war with *Spain*,

*Spain*, and all the rest were sent to *Languedoc* and *Provence*. The Marquis *de Leganez* was accused to have advis'd the Count-Duke to send *D. Pedro d' Arragon* into *Roussillon*, and perhaps he did it with a design to let the *Spaniards* see, that he was not the only bad General that commanded their Armies, and how difficult a matter it was to surprize the *French*.

In the mean time the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* had made himself Master of the Town of *Collioure*, and nothing now remain'd but the Castle, situated upon a Rock, which they despair'd to reduce by force. But a Mine, from which they expected scarce any effect, because the Rock hindred them from carrying it far enough, as it play'd fill'd up the pits of the Castle, which was supplied with no other Water, and oblig'd the Garrison to surrender, when they the least thought of any such thing. It capitulated on the 10th of *April*, and the Castle of *St. Elme*, which stands upon an inaccessible Rock above the Port, was likewise comprehended in the capitulation, altho it might have held out several days longer.

At last the Army march'd to *Perpignan*, and his Majesty having receiv'd information that the place was but slenderly stored with provisions, designed to reduce it by Famine rather than by Force. Besides the scarcity of provisions, which was confirm'd by all the Prisoners that were taken, there was a powerful Garrison within, and the Citadel especially was so strong by its natural situation and by art, that it was not possible to take it by force, without losing a world of men. *D. Flores d' Avila* was Governor of it, and had for his Lieutenant *D. Diego Cavalliero*, and they seem'd inclin'd to defend it to the last extremity. However the King came thither in person, and order'd the Lines of Circumvallation and Countervallation to be made, which he marked out himself.

At this conjuncture *Spain* found it self in a great perplexity, without Money, the Sinews of War, without a disciplin'd Army, and without Generals to command it, while on one side the *Portugueses* withdrew themselves from its Obedience, and kept all the neighbourhood in perpetual alarms, and on the other side,

1642. side, *France* made continual inroads into *Roussillon*, and *Catalonia*. The Ministers of the Catholic King met every day, but were not able to come to any conclusion; some of them were of opinion that the King should go in person to the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Valentia*, to assemble the States there, that so he might at a nearer distance provide for the pressing necessities of *Catalonia*. The Count-Duke opposed this motion under-hand, lest the King who saw nothing but by his Eyes, should now of himself perceive what little care his Favorite had taken in all places, to remedy the present disorders. The Nobility and People did every where loudly complain, that the Count-Duke made the King fruitlessly lose time in deliberations, at the best season of the year, altho the King of *France* had open'd the Campaign in person, before the Winter was over. The Count-Duke was by no means qualified to take any vigorous resolutions, and much less to put them in execution with that speed which the present face of affairs required, and thus the King began to be sensible somewhat of the latest for the Interest of *Spain*. At last, he resolved to go into *Aragon*, notwithstanding all the artifices of his Favourite; but he ought to have made this Journey the last year, before so great a number of *French* Troops came into *Catalonia* and *Roussillon*.

The Marechal *de la Mothe* having at the same time received a new reinforcement of men, thought to prevent the King of *Spain*, and with that design enter'd the Kingdom of *Valentia*. But after he had besieg'd *Torrose* for several days, and lost a great many of his Souldiers before the place, he was constrain'd to raise the siege. Soon after he took *Tamarith*, and having broke into the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he be-

\* The 5 of June. Siri by Capitulation.

Mer. T.2. In the mean time their provisions daily diminish'd  
l. 2. p. 83. at *Perpignan*, and each Souldier receiv'd only a few ounces of Bread every day, with a small quantity of Horse-flesh. The *Spanish* Nation, which is naturally sober and patient, bore this way of living quietly enough; and the Marechal *de la Meilleraye*, who was

was of advice that force should be employed against the besieged, began to grow impatient, and weary of this long blockade. He maintained, that by attacking the place, the Governor would be obliged to distribute the victuals more liberally among the Soldiers, to give them strength and courage: But the King still continued in his first sentiments, to spare the blood of his Subjects. The *Spaniards* had got together the greatest body of men they were able, and had already near *Tarragona* ten thousand men under the *Marquis de Leganes*; and five thousand Foot and two thousand Horse under the *Marquis de Torrecilla*. The last of these was to come by Sea to *Rosita*, and relieve *Perpignan*; and the other was to fight the *Marschal de la Mothe*. The *French* being informed of these projects, took all imaginable care to fortify and guard all the posts, by which *Rosillon* might be entered either by Sea or by Land: and the *Marschal de la Mothe*, after he had put eight hundred men into *Mouzon*, that so he might always have an open passage to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, returned to *Lerida*, to observe the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, and to dispose their designs.

At last the Catholic King parted, on the 24 of *April* with a very small train of Coaches, and without any Troops. The Count-Duke, who ought to have taken care that some of the most experienced Officers in the Army should have attended on his Majesty, and entertained him about the affairs of the Campaign, provided him with a Company of Players, in order to retard his Journey as much as was possible; and, in effect, he spent the months of *May* and *June*, to reach so far as the Frontiers of *France*, altho the *Marquis de Leganes* pressed him to draw near, because his Army was unprovided of every thing, and the people of this Kingdom would not contribute to the maintenance of it. At last he advanced to *Molana*, upon the Frontiers of *Aragon*. Several Councils of War were held there, and it was concluded that the *Marquis de Torrecilla* should be sent by Land to *Rosillon*, through *Catalonia*, while the *Marquis de Leganes* and *de Tavora* amused the *French* and *Catalanians*.



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About the beginning of *July*, an engagement happen'd on the Coasts of *Catalonia*, between the Fleets of *France* and *Spain*, which lasted two days, without any great loss on either side; however it proved extremely prejudicial to the *Spaniards*, who could never hope to save *Roussillon* without beating the *French* Fleet. The latter retir'd to *Barcelona*, and the other to *Majorca*. The fight had scarce begun, when a man, pretending himself to be sent by the Duke de *Cindad-Real*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, took post to carry the news to the King, that the Duke had gain'd an entire Victory, and taken from the *French* sixty Ships, and ten Gallies. In his way thither he happen'd to communicate his design to one *Perazza*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Mortare*: This last, to get the Royal Present, which the carrier of so good news would undoubtedly receive from the King, cunningly got there before him, and filled the Court with joy before the other arrived. Soon after he arrived, and past for a new Courier, who confirm'd what the former had said. The King and the Favourite, transported with joy, without condescending to examine the bearers of this news, dispatch'd *Dominic d' Herrera* to the Queen, to give her advice of this Victory, and she presented him with three hundred Crowns, and a Golden Chain. At the same time orders were sent to the Marquis de *Torrecuse*, who was upon his march, to stay where he was, till he receiv'd fresh orders, because the Victory which the Fleet had gain'd, open'd a passage by Sea to the *Spanish* forces; and thus they made him lose the opportunity of relieving *Perpignan*.

Not long after a Bark arrived at *Veneros*, which brought a true relation of the engagement; and they no sooner heard the news at Court, but they were in a strange confusion, for having so slightly believ'd a thing of that importance, and dispersing wrong informations all over the Kingdom. From extremity of joy the King pass'd to extremity of sorrow, and sent a second order to the Marquis de *Torrecuse*, wherein he expressly forbid him to hazard a Battel upon any terms, till he had received a fresh reinforcement.

He

afterwards joyn'd the Marquis de Montare, who came from *Saragossa*, and they marched together to *Orragone*, to the number of four thousand Horse, and twelve thousand Foot. The King still tarried some time at *Molina*, and afterwards went to *Saragossa*, where he stay'd till *September*; and as nothing was resolv'd upon in relation to the War, the Army of *Roussillon* continued undisturb'd in their posts about *Perpignan*, till such time as the place surrendered.

It may with reason enough be affirm'd, that part of the losses which the Crown of *Spain* sustain'd, and the greatest part of the advantages which *France* gain'd over her, were the effects of the prudence and vast abilities of the Cardinal-Duke. However, he narrowly escap'd being assassinated, or at least to survive his Prince's favour, in the midst of so many events that were so extremely advantageous to the Crown.

The Master of the Horse, being as we have already said, become an Enemy to the Cardinal, thought of nothing else but how to destroy him. To compass this design, he believed there was a necessity of having the assistance of Monsieur, who as he never had any real kindness for this Minister, still hated him, notwithstanding all the seeming reconciliations that had been made between them. It was no difficult matter for *Ginq-Mars* to gain him, \* by representing to him that the Cardinal, finding the King was indisposed, endeavour'd to get himself nominated Regent of the Kingdom in his Will, exclusively of all others that might better pretend to it. The Duke, who desired nothing so earnestly as he did this, and knew the great ambition of the Minister, was easily induced to believe it, and had several secret conferences with the Master of the Horse, to contrive means to ruine him. But as the Duke of *Orleans* was none of the fittest men at finding out expedients, the Master of the Horse thought it would be his wisest course to get the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was engaged in the same affair, to come and meet him at *Paris*. He sent a Messenger to desire him to come thither, at the same time that the Cardinal dispatched a Courier to him

\* See Siri  
Mer. T. 2.  
l. 2. p. 571.

1642. to oblige him to come before the King's departure, on purpose to receive his Orders to go and command the Army of *Italy*. Accordingly he came and saw the Master of the Horse at *Paris* and *Sr. Germans*, \* where they concluded that it was absolutely necessary to treat with *Spain*, that they might have an Army sufficient to cover *Sedan*, and to give battle, as the year before, without which it was impossible to defend *Sedan* against the Armies of *France* that were in *Champagne*, in *Picardy*, and *Artois*. It was also agreed between them that they should treat with the King of *Spain* in the name of Monsieur, who gave Letters, and necessary instructions to *Fontrailles*, to address himself in his name to the Count-Duke. This *Mellenger* arrived safely at *Madrid*, and \* concluded a Treaty with the Count-Duke, whereby the King of *Spain* promis'd to give Monsieur twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse of old Troops, besides four hundred thousand Crowns in ready Money, to raise more. Monsieur promised to be ready at a place of security, which was *Sedan*, to put himself at the head of this Army, and enter *France*, with a design to oblige the Cardinal to consent to a Peace between the two Crowns, which was pretended to be the end of this Treaty: But at the bottom 'twas only to turn out the Cardinal, by raising a Civil War in *France*; the Duke of *Orleans* no more troubling himself about the welfare of the people, than the Minister of the King his Brother.

The Cardinal easily perceived that the Master of the Horse was contriving some mischief against him, but he knew none of the particulars of his designs. A report was spread about that the affection which the King had for his Minister, was sensibly diminished, and that *Cinq-Mars* had much the greater share of his Majesty's favour. The Cardinal fearing lest this report, which his enemies industriously spread about in all places, might become true, if it was not so already, resolved not to lose the King out of his sight, in his Journey to *Roussillon*. They lodged all the way in the same places, altho they were very much straitned for want of room, and that heretofore they were

\* See the  
Relation of  
Fontrailles  
in the  
Memoirs of  
Monsieur.

\* Signed  
by the  
King of  
Spain. See  
Mellenger.  
P. 572.

were always accustomed to lodge in different places. 1642.  
 Besides this, the Cardinal never fail'd to see the King every morning and evening, to dissipate by his presence all the contrivances that might have been used to prepossess his Majesty against him; and as the Master of the Horse fell infinitely short of the dexterity of the Minister, in the art of managing a Prince so difficult as he was, the Cardinal easily broke and frustrated all the measures of that Favorite.

'Tis reported that the latter had more than once \* \* \* \* \* design'd to kill the Cardinal, but that neither the traitors in Duke of Orleans, nor *De Thou*, to whom he had spoke *his Relations* about it, would give their approbation or consent to that attempt. \* Others say that the Master of the \* *Sir Ib.* Horse had agreed with Monsieur to execute this project in their journey to *Languedoc*, but that having found an opportunity to do it at *Briare*, he durst not put it in execution in the absence of Monsieur, when the Gout hinder'd from following the King. He had the same design at *Lyons*, when a great number of the Nobility of *Auvergne* came to see him, and he \* proposed it to the King, who rejected it with detestation, altho on the other hand he sometimes seem'd \* *See the* to be displeas'd with the Cardinal, and would suffer *King's Letter to the* *Cinq-Mars* to speak ill of him. In the mean time *Cardinal de* the Duke of Orleans endeavour'd to bring the Duke of *Beaufort* over to his party, who was lately come back from *England*, and then resided to *Vendome*. But *Mem. 1. 2. p. 84.* the Duke, who knew that the Abbot of *la Riviere*, *see from* Chaplain to Monsieur, never endeavour'd to engage *the* his Master and his Friends in any dangerous affair, *not to be* but only to make his own advantage by betraying *King in the* them, would not listen to it.

In the mean time the Master of the Horse, who ought dextrously to have managed and kept up the good inclinations which the King had for him, by complying with all his desires, and applauding every thing he said, took a pleasure to contradict him, and kept away from the King's person, at those times when his Majesty did most desire to have him near him; when his Friends represented to him that he would infallibly ruine himself by this ill conduct, he.



1642. told them that he was not able to endure the unfavoury smell of the King's breath. After so prodigious a stupidity as this was, what wonder is it if the Cardinal was able to destroy a young man so insupportable arrogant and indiscreet? And therefore it was visible at *Narbonne* that the affection which the King had for him was considerably less'n'd.

\* See towards the end of the Cardinals Life by Aubrey.

At this time the Cardinal fell extremely ill in this City, of a distemper in his arm, which he formerly had been troubled with, and two imposthumes that were form'd in his breast, as I shall observe when I come to his last sickness. His Relations, took him to be dead, and he made his Will, which he was not able to sign, on the 23d of May. 'Tis commonly said, that the Master of the Horse, fearing lest the coldness he discovered in the King, should prove the forerunner of his disgrace, had absolutely resolv'd to dispatch the Cardinal out of the way; but that being informed by his Physicians, that he could only linger a few weeks more, he thought it better to let him dye of his distemper, than to hasten his death by a violence, which in all probability would be fatal to the person that committed it. In the Camp at *Perpignan* the whole Army was divided into two Factions, one of them named *Royalists*, the other *Cardinalists*, but it seems the bravest men in the Army declared for the former.

The King being in the Army fell dangerously ill there, but his illness did not last long. In the mean time, the Master of the Horse assured himself of the Guards and *Swisses*, and made the Officers promise to serve the Duke of *Orleans* in the dispute that would arise between him and the Cardinal, concerning the Regence. The *Marschals de Schomberg*, and *de la Moillaye*, were Heads of the contrary party; but if the King had died, in all probability they would have tack'd about. In the mean time, the favour of the Master of the Horse daily diminished, and now there remain'd little more than a feeble appearance of it, which he preserv'd as long as he was able: The King had no more any of those long Conferences which he used to have with him when he was in Bed. This great



great alteration occasioned *Cinq-Mars* to press Monsieur incessantly to retire to *Sedan*, while the King importun'd him to come to *Perpignan*. But the Duke neither moved for the one nor the other: He did not obey the King, under pretence of his Gout, for which reason he was advis'd to go to the Waters of *Bombon*; and he did not go to *Sedan*, because he could not do it without an order in writing from the Duke of *Bouillon*, to the Governor of that place, which he had forgot to ask him for, before he past the Mountains. He was therefore oblig'd to send for it, and he intrusted *Montmor* with this Commission, to whom the Duke of *Bouillon* refused to give the order he demanded, because he did not know him. So after him was sent the Count d' *Aubijoux*, one of Monsieur's Domesticks, who departed in the habit of a Capuchin.

In this interim, the Cardinal being still sick at *Narbonne*, and the King before *Perpignan*, the Minister received advice from *Spain*, that a certain *Frenchman* was seen in the Count-Duke's Anti-chamber; and it was every where discours'd, that the Cardinal's enemies had made a Treaty with *Spain*, but at that time the Minister was not able to procure a Copy of the Treaty. This kept him in a perpetual inquietude, and he desir'd the King to come to *Narbonne*, under a pretence of entertaining him about some matters of the greatest consequence. But he desir'd it to no purpose, the King being obstinately resolv'd not to quit the Blockade of *Perpignan*. The Cardinal likewise observ'd, that the King enquir'd very negligently after his health, which made him apprehend, that his Enemies had gain'd an entire ascendant over the King's inclinations. He did not imagine himself safe at *Narbonne*, so pretending that the Air of that City did not agree with him, and that his Physicians advis'd to go to the Waters of *Tarascou*, he departed from thence, and when he took any road he caus'd a report to be spread before, that he went another way; he often changed the road, and embarked at *Ayde* to go part of the way by water, that so in case of necessity he might retire into *Italy*. Nay, 'tis said that he

642. had got all his Money ready, to be carry'd away with the first order, as well as his Jewels.

\* Aubrey fall into disgrace; but we find a \* Billet of the King, Mem. T.2. dated the 3 of June, wherein he assures him, *That whatever reports were scattered abroad to his disadvantage, he loved him more than ever; and that they had been now too long together, to think of parting, which he desired all the world should know.* This Billet was sufficient to remove all his suspicions, but the indiscreet conduct of the Master of the Horse, who neither knew how to conceal his design, nor to preserve himself in the Kings favour, gave him a greater security.

P. 841.

Thus while Monsieur and the Master of the Horse were deliberating upon what they had to do, without coming to any resolution, the Cardinal receiv'd a Pacquet, wherein he found a Copy of the Treaty of *Madrid*. Some people say it was the Nuncio in *Spain* that sent it to him: Others name other persons. If the *Spaniards* were so unwise as to let a Copy be taken of it, they committed an unpardonable Solecism; and if this Copy came from the Conspirators, the fault was still the greater. However it came about, the Cardinal no sooner procured it, but he sent *Chavigny* to the King to show it him, and to desire him to cause *Cinq-Mars* to be apprehended. *Chavigny* had all the trouble in the world to make his Majesty resolve to deliver this Criminal into the hands of Justice. He fell down upon his knees, and pray'd to God to inspire him with the best resolution, and sent for *F. Sirmond* a Jesuite, and his Confessor, to ask his advice. The Father Confessor was not backward to tell him, that after so enormous a crime as this was, the King need not scruple to order his Favourite to be apprehended. According to the custom of *Lewis XIII.* to apprehend any one for a crime against the State, and to put him to death, was in a manner the same thing; as if it had been unlawful, once in his life, to have shown mercy to some of the Cardinals Enemies.

As it was a nice and difficult matter to apprehend the Master of the Horse in the Army, where he was extremely beloved, the King was resolved to go to

Nar-

*Narbonne*, under a pretence that he had an Ague, altho he could never be perswaded to go to that City, while the Cardinal was there. At that time he desired to confer with him about the affairs of *Picardy*, which seem'd to be in danger, after the defeat of the *Mareschal de Guiche*. Being therefore arrived at *Narbonne*, while the Cardinal was at *Tarascon*, the Master of the Horse, whose place would not give him leave to be from the King, follow'd him thither, altho he was before-hand inform'd that his designs were discovered. Thus he was apprehended on the 14th of June, altho he hid himself, and the houses were once search'd to no purpose, the King having given orders before that the City gates should be shut. *De Thou* was likewise apprehended the night before, with one *Chavignac* a *Hugonot*, and some of their Servants. These two last were afterwards carried under a strong Guard to *Tarascon*, and the other to the Cittadel of *Montpellier*.

In the mean time, *Ossonville*, Lieutenant of the Guards to the Duke of *Bonillon*, who sent him to attend upon the Master of the Horse, being inform'd that he was apprehended, took post to carry this news to the Duke, that so he might take his measures accordingly. He past through *Monfrin*, a Town of *Languedoc*, over against *Tarascon*, on the other side of the *Rhine*, where the Vicount de *Turenne* was, to whom he thought he was oblig'd to tell this news. The Vicount, who knew nothing of the whole intrigue, and who thought the Cardinal knew no more of it than himself, believ'd he would take it kindly to be inform'd of it; so he sent to acquaint him, at the same time that he receiv'd this news from *Ossonville*, who was going into *Italy*. The Cardinal no sooner understood it, but he immediately dispatch'd a man with necessary orders to stop *Ossonville*, whom he apprehended at *Valence*, and there imprison'd him. \* Orders had been sent before to *Aiguebonne*, *Du Plessis*, *Perpignan*, *sis Pralain*, and *Castelan*, *Marschals de Camp* of the Armies in *Italy*, to apprehend the Duke of *Bonillon*. \* This order was executed at *Casal*, altho the Duke upon the first notice conceal'd himself, when *Conoonges*, Governour of the place, was gone

1642

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\* Dated

from the

Camp before

the 12 of

June. Aub.

Mem. T. 1.

P. 759.

The 23 of

June.

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to fetch the Kings order to shew it him. Thus, the Duke and the Master of the Horse were taken, without any prospect of escaping, partly through their own imprudence, and partly through that peculiar good fortune of the Minister, from whom very few of his Enemies escaped, while he luckily withdrew himself from the most eminent dangers. The Duke was for some time kept under a Guard in the Citadel of Casal, but was removed in August to Lyons, and lodged in the Prison of *Pierre-Ancise*.

The Duke of Orleans receiving advice that the Master of the Horse was apprehended, instead of finding out means to save and retrieve his friends, relapsed into his usual weakness, and thinking himself discover'd, sent the Abbot of *la Riviere* from *Moulins*, where he then was, to the King, to confess his fault, and beg his pardon. He writ at the same time Letters, \* dated the 25th of June, to the King, to the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, and to *De Noyers* and *Chavigny*, Secretaries of Estate, full of mean submissions and lyes, either to beg mercy, or to desire Cardinal *Mazarine* and the two Secretaries to assist him to obtain it. However, the Duke burnt the Original of the Treaty, which *Fontrailles* had brought him from *Spain*, and only kept one Copy of it, which he might likewise have burnt had he so pleased; so that if he had been master of any resolution, it had been impossible to have convicted him of any thing. The King pardoned him, after this indiscreet discovery, upon condition that he would go to *Nisy* in *Savoy*, a house of the Duke of *Nemours*, where he was to reside, with a pension of 200000 *Livres*; the rest of his Revenues being stop't to satisfy his Creditors. Monsieur desir'd to see the King before he went thither, but the King refused him that favour, and the Marquis de *Villeroy* had orders to accompany him. \* At first they had some designs to send him to *Venice*, as it appears by several Letters, but at last they changed their resolution. Neither did he go to *Nisy*, so that 'tis probable the true reason why they pretended to make him leave the Kingdom, was only to oblige him to discover all he knew.

In

\* See them  
in the Mem.  
of Mohr.  
P. 162.

\* Ib. 171.  
175, 195.



In the mean time the Secretaries of State were not wanting to incense his Majesty against the Prisoners; and the Abbots *d'Effiat* and *de Thou* expressing a design to intercede for their Brothers, he sent them word that he would not see them. The King still continuing to be indispos'd, and being now resolved to return to *Paris*, the Cardinal prevail'd with him to order himself to be carried to *Monfrin*, within a league of *Tarascon*, that he might there see him. To this end, in the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, another Bed was prepared for the King, which was set up at his arrival. None but *de Noyers* and *Chambray* were present at this visit. 'Tis reported, that the Cardinal, after he had with great vehemence enumerated the services he had done the Crown, reproached the King for countenancing the Conspiracies against his person, by suffering the Master of the Horse to be with him, after his Majesty knew what designs he had formed against him. This discourse drew tears from the King, who recounted to the Cardinal all that had pass'd in his disadvantage, which he knew of, and promised to leave the Conspirators to Justice. At last, the King took the way to *Lyon*, and the Cardinal still continued at *Tarascon*, got the Secretaries to ask him, *Whether in important and pressing affairs he might give orders as he should judge expedient, for his Majesty's Service, as he had frequently commanded him to do.* In case the King consented to this proposall he desired he would write to him, as from his own proper motion. The King was soon prevail'd upon to do what he desired, and writ to him a Letter on the last day of *June*, wherein he tells him, that being constrain'd by the consideration of his own affairs, as well as the Cardinal's present indisposition to leave him in *Languedoc*, his intention was, that he should manage all matters there which concerned the State, with the same authority as if the King himself was there in person, and that he should provide for all urgent affairs, without sending to him for directions. The Cardinal return'd this answer to the King, that as he had never abused the honours he had been pleas'd to do him, so he would

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\* Ib. 161.

\* Aubery

Mem. T. 2.

p. 841.

\* Tb: 2 of

July,

Mon. ref.

use 181.



use that power, with which his Majesty had entrusted him, with all due moderation.

The Duke of *Orleans* had indeed confest at first, in general Terms, that he had kept a very particular correspondence with the Master of the Horse, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, and promis'd to inform the Cardinal of all the particulars, but they desired that he would give them the detail in writing: There was some difficulty to obtain it, but at last he made a Declaration on the 7th of *July*, wherein he discover'd all that he knew. It is dated from *Aigueperce* in *Auvergne*, where he had leave given him to stay, instead of going to *Savoy*. In fine, he engaged himself to do every thing they would have him, to convict his friends of this conspiracy, provided they would suffer him to live in the Kingdom, privately, and without any retinue but such as the King would be pleas'd to allow him.

The Duke of *Bouillon* being inform'd that the Duke of *Orleans* had confest all, was induc'd to own all his engagements with the Master of the Horse, and their designs against the Cardinal, only he denied that he gave his consent to the Treaty of *Madrid*. To carry on this process and pronounce sentence against the Criminals, the Cardinal, according to his custom, nominated some Commissioners who appeared at the places assign'd, and performed all the necessary formalities. The Chancellor was the Chief of them, and the rest were *Laubardemont*, *Marca*, *Miraumes*, *Nil*, *De Paris*, *Champigny*, Counsellors of the Councils of his Majesty; *De Chaze*, and *De Leve*, likewise Counsellors of the King, and Masters of the ordinary Requests of his Household.

While this Process was preparing, the Cardinal, who continued still at *Tarascon*, received advice that the Q. Mother, his ancient Benefactress, and for several years one of the principal objects of his hatred, died at *Colen* on the third of *July*. He caus'd a Magnificent service to be celebrated for her in the Collegiat Church, as if he design'd to make her some reparation after her death, for all the evil he had done her while she was alive. 'Tis said his Majesty was extremely

extremely grieved at this News, and that his natural affection began but too late to revive, when he came to consider that through his own want of tenderness, and to satisfy a rigorous inflexible Minister he had suffer'd his Mother to dye in banishment and indigence, and never would hearken to a reconciliation with her, altho she so earnestly desired it.

The Cardinal still tarried at *Tarascon*, when finding himself somewhat better, he began to think of returning to *Paris*. As he was not entirely restored to his health, and apprehended lest he should renew his distemper by being jolted in a Coach, he caused a sort of a Litter to be contrived wherein was his Bed, with a little Table and a Chair for one person to discourse and confer with him. It was cover'd with Damask, with a Wax covering over that, to serve in time of rain. This Litter was to be carried by eighteen men, and the Cardinal had resolved to choose Peasants for that Employment, but his Guards offer'd their service to him, and relieved one another by turns, as heretofore *Alexander's* Souldiers did upon a like occasion. When they were upon this duty, those that carried the Litter walked with their heads uncovered. As this Litter was too large to enter the Gates of some Towns, they were forced to beat down the walls of all those places through which the Cardinal was minded to pass, as well as the walls of the Houses where he lodged, and brought his portable Chamber. Nay, the Roads must be enlarged when ever they happen'd to be too narrow, and levelled where they were too uneven. Thus our ambitious Minister travell'd about two hundred Leagues in this Triumphant Bed, and if I may be allowed the expression, enter'd every where through a breach, after he had equally ruin'd his private enemies, and destroy'd all the priviledges of *France*.

To return to the Conspirators, *Cinq-Mars* having been \* carried to *Lyons* and examined, resolutely maintain'd at first that what Monsieur depos'd against him was false. He showed the same constancy when he was confronted with the Duke of *Bouillon*, tho he was extremely surprized at it. What perplexed the Judges

\*Sirl Mer.  
T. 2. l. 3. p.  
1182, &c.

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Judges upon this occasion, was that having only one Copy of the Treaty, it was a difficult matter to condemn the Master of the Horse without his confession. They used all imaginable means to extort the truth out of *de Thou*, whom both Monsieur and the Duke of *Bouillon* affirmed to know the whole affair, except only the League with *Spain*, but he protested that he knew nothing of what they asked him, and that the only reason why he had endeavoured to cement a friendship between the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Cinq-Mars*, was upon some particular considerations which were not in the least criminal. It was discoursed, that the Duke of *Orleans* was to confront the Prisoner, but he so earnestly begged of the King to exempt him from it, and so positively declared that he would rather fly to the end of the world, than be brought to so scandalous a pass, that contrary to all equity and justice, his bare testimony was to go for valid without any personal appearance, provided he would answer to the interrogatories of the Chancellor in the presence of seven Commissioners. In the mean time *Cinq-Mars* having declared he would confess all, if they would promise him his life, the Cardinal sent *Laubardemont* the Register of this Tryal to him, who promised it him upon condition, he would speak the truth against *De Thou*, who had, as he pretended, deposed against him. He fell into this Snare, and being interrogated on the 12th of September by the Chancellor and the other Commissioners, he confessed all, and as for what related to *De Thou*, deposed that the Treaty with *Spain* had been communicated to him by *Fontrailles* at *Carcassonne*, but that he protested against this design, and heartily condemn'd it: Nay, that he had said more than once, that if he were not afraid of the great credit of the Criminals, he would go to discover all to the King, and that he had endeavour'd to dissuade the Duke of *Bouillon* from this attempt, which he thought would miscarry for several reasons. Not long after, *De Thou* was brought to his examination, who at first denied all, but being confronted by *Cinq-Mars* confessed all, only he added, that he had done all that lay in his power

power to make the Master of the Horse quit this enterprize; that he had frequently quarrelled with him for coming to these extremities, without considering what might be the consequence of them; and lastly, that being but very imperfectly instructed in this affair, and having no proofs of it in his hands, to convince the Criminals before the King, he therefore did not look upon himself obliged to reveal all he knew of the matter, especially since the Conspirators were not in a condition to make it succeed. *De Thou* thought it the best way to confess all, without suffering himself to be farther prest, for fear of being put to the Rack, which he extremely dreaded, but could have avoided it by no means, if he had continued to deny the fact.

The Kings Attorney General was of opinion, that both of them ought to suffer for their crime. All the Judges agreed that the Master of the Horse ought to dye, for making a Treaty with the Enemies of the Crown. *De Thou* was likewise found guilty of High Treason, because he did not discover this Treaty as soon as he was made acquainted with it, and for some violent presumptions that he had made in his business to engage the Conspirators in this union, against the welfare of the State. There were only two of the Judges that voted against their being put to death; but *Laubardemon* urged an Edict of *Louis XI.* upon this occasion, by which those that knew of any design level'd against the Government, and don't reveal it, are declared to be guilty of High Treason. Thus they were condemn'd to have their Heads struck off in the Market place at *Terraux*, and the same day Sentence was executed, lest the King, who had a great kindness for the Master of the Horse, and might be induc'd to have some compassion for *De Thou*, who was no farther Criminal than as he had declined to accuse his friend, should pardon them. The Cardinal still kept to his beloved *Maxim*, never to destroy any one by halves, and therefore prevented the Clemency of *Louis XIII.* by a speedy execution. After all, there is no question to be made, but that the Accused were really guilty of designing



1642. to get the management of affairs into their own hands without the Kings consent; and if they had accomplished their intentions, the people had not been happier than they were under the Cardinal, and in all probability the Enemies of *France* had only become more formidable by it. Neither the King, nor they, according to the common opinion, were in a condition to sustain the weight of affairs with such a resolution and conduct, as the Cardinal had all along shown. They were influenced by a principle of ambition and envy, and did not act for the real good of the people; and it was better for *France*, that an Ambition, supported by so little Conduct, should prove fatal to the accused, than to behold the greatest Minister she ever had, perish by their intrigues; and the King made a Slave to some persons, who were more unfit to govern than himself. However, if the King had had the Courage to have pardon'd *De Thou*, who was the least guilty among them, he had won the applauses of the whole Kingdom, and had not in the least sinned against the rules of good policy.

*Chavignac*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, who had served under the Duke of *Rohan*, and whom the Master of the Horse had got to be recalled to the Court, to employ him in his designs, was freed and acquitted, because he refused to be concerned in this matter, altho he openly profess himself to be an humble servant of *Cinq-Mars*. 'Tis certain his innocence appeared very clear, since he so fortunately escap'd those Judges, who, as the world reported of them, were ready to find all people guilty, that the Cardinal had a mind to destroy.

The Duke of *Beaufort* was accused for having receiv'd a visit from *De Thou*; who would have vainly perswaded him to embark in this affair; and the Cardinal, who desired to discover all the Accomplices, sent for him to Court; and got the King to write to him upon that score. The Duke made answer that he knew nothing of the matter; but altho his Majesty writ to him thrice to come to him, he judg'd it more advisable to pretend an indisposition, and at last withdrew into *England*.

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As for what concerned the Duke of *Bonillon*, the King pardon'd him, upon condition he would deliver up the City and Castle of *Sedan*, to be annexed to the Crown, without insisting on any other terms but his Life and Liberty; and that he should intirely trust the Kings generosity, as for what he might be pleased to give him by way of exchange. \* He obtain'd Letters of abolition, dated the 15th of September, at the end of which month Cardinal *Mazarine* went to take possession of *Sedan*, with eleven Companies of the Guards. As soon as he was set at liberty, he took post to *Montargis*, where the Cardinal then was, to whom he made a visit; after which, without seeing the King, he retir'd into *Champagne*, to the Count *de Roussi*, his Brother-in-law, where the Dutchess of *Bonillon* was; and from thence to a Castle which he had in *Perigord*. This Prince was generally condoled for the loss he sustained; but every body was surpriz'd, that he should so easily be drawn into this design, immediately after he had fortunately got out of another.

\*Siri Mer.  
T. 2. l. 3. &c  
Aubery -  
Mem. T. 2.  
P. 766, &c.

Thus the Cardinal defeated this Conspiracy, with great glory to himself, and very advantageously for the Interest of *France*. Altho' those that envied his authority were not, properly speaking, enemies of the State, yet as they could not destroy this Minister but by embroiling the Kingdom, by the help of its real enemies, they furnished the other party with a plausible pretence to accuse them with designing to betray their King and Country. The Cardinal receiving the news of the death of *Cinq-Mars* and *De Thou*, almost at the same time that advice was sent him of the reduction of *Perpignan*, writ a Letter to the King, which began after this manner: *Sir, your arms are in Perpignan, and your Enemies are dead.* In the compass of one month, *France* got possession of two Places, that were of the last importance to her, particularly so long as she was engaged in a War with *Spain*. *Perpignan* secured *Roussillon*, and put her in a condition to preserve *Catalonia*, in case she persisted in that resolution, and *Sedan* hindred the *Spaniards* from entering *France* on that side; whereas before if

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they gain'd the Duke of *Bonillon* over to their party, which was no difficult matter, they might easily enter it, when ever they pleas'd. On the other hand the affairs of *Spain* went every day worse and worse.

*John IV.* having been proclaimed King of *Portugal*, not only resolv'd to preserve the Crown, which was so lately put upon his head, but likewise to regain all that it formerly posselt in *Afric*, *America*, and the *Indies*. The Government of the *Castilians* was become so odious every where, where the *Portugueses* had formerly been, that this design succeed'd no less happily, at a great distance from *Spain*, that it had about the *Tagus*. The *Portugueses* receiv'd with extraordinary Joy the News of the re-establishment of the House of *Braganze*, to which they generally submitted in spite of the *Spaniards*. In the mean time, the new King finding that the *Castilians* were unable to preserve their usurpations, not only beat them out of the ancient bounds of *Portugal*, but likewise enter'd into the dominions of the Catholick King, and advanced as far as *Salamanca*. He besieged several Towns in *Gallicia*, *Estramadura*, and *Andalusia*, nay he had certainly made these Provinces the Theatre of the War, by causing his Army to subsist there, if there had been any strong places, or such as were in a condition to be fortified, to retire into in case of necessity.

Thus *Spain* was reduced to an extreme weakness thro the great indiscretion of the Count-Duke, and the discontents of some Princes, and several great Lords. The Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Aragon*, that posselt great privileges, could not without a sensible regret see them daily infringed. *Catalonia*, which had so lately call'd in the *French* for that very reason, furnish'd them with a very bad example, and might perhaps influence them to do something of the like nature, if things were not regulated in good time. The Intrigues of the Duke de *Medina Sidonia*, and of the Marquis d' *Alamont* put *Andalusia* into a tottering condition; which Province was besides incens'd at the change which had lately been made in the Money, which after it had been made to

go at an excessive high rate, was at last cried down. 1642. Those of *Biscay* had assassinated a Farmer who had been sent thither to introduce marked Paper against the Franchises of that Country, and were exceedingly concern'd at the punishment of the principal Malecontents, who had been wheedled to *Madrid* by the Count-Duke under a promise of being pardoned there, and altho this had happen'd many years before, yet they still deeply resent that perfidious usage. In short, the excessive poverty of *Gallicia*, which besides was environ'd almost on all sides by *Portugal*, made it incapable to contribute much to the expence of the War. Add to this, that the Catholick King had sustain'd great losses in *Catalonia*, without making any advances there, thro the ill conduct of his Generals, and that his *America* Fleet was destroyed, so that he was forced to borrow Silver Plate of private persons, to Coin it into Money. The greatest Governments and Offices had for a long while been only bestow'd upon the Creatures of the Favorite, without any regard to their capacity and merits, and those that were best able to serve the State were turned out of Court, because they could not submit to his imperious haughty temper.

In the mean time he caus'd forces to march from all parts, at an incredible expence, to endeavour the relief of *Perpignan*, and 'tis very observable, that in six months time, after he had used his greatest efforts, he could bring no more than thirty thousand men into the field. To compleat his misfortunes, they arriv'd too late; for the place which had long suffer'd the utmost extremities of Famine, and which no one took any care to relieve, was oblig'd to surrender, on the 7th of *September*, *Don Flores d' Avela* deliver'd it up to the *Mareschal de la Meilleraye*, wholly destitute of Victuals, but extremely well stored with Ammunition: It had an Arsenal sufficient to arm twenty thousand Foot and Horse, fix-score pieces of Cannon, and three thousand pounds of Powder, with all other things necessary for its defence. The *Mareschal* gave the government of it to *Varennes*, *Mareschal de Camp*, till such time as

1642. the King should provide otherwise for the place. This Conquest gave no little joy to the Court of *France*, by reason of the mighty importance of the place, which covered their Frontiers on that side, and made them Masters of *Roussillon*. On the contrary, the King of *Spain* was exceedingly concern'd at it, and could not dissemble his resentments, while the Count-Duke affected a certain Gayety, which surprized all the World. He imagined by so doing to keep the King in heart, who seemed to be strangely dejected, and to put courage into the Army and People, who were alarm'd at the progress of the Enemy. He used all diligence to get together as great an Army as he could, and the Grandees of *Spain* strove who should contribute the most towards the raising, and maintenance of it, in these urgent necessities of the State. But instead of placing a General at the Head of them, who was able to raise the hopes of *Spain*, he caused the Marquis de *Luganex* to be nominated to command them, against the general expectation; because this Marquis had not been able to obtain leave to come to Court, but was as it were banished into *Valencia*, by reason of the great complaints of the Allies and the Subjects of *Spain* against him; but altho he was thus ill used in outward appearance, the Count-Duke had given him private hopes that he should be suddenly advanced. While he was putting himself in a posture to march, Don Benito Henriquez de *Quiroga*, surrendred *Salsé* to the Marechals de *Schomberg* and *Meilleraye*, on the 30th of *September*, for want of provisions. Part of the *French Army*, which had been employ'd in the blockade of *Perpignan* and *Salsé*, marched afterwards into *Catalonia* to reinforce that of the Marechal de *la Mothe*, who put himself in readiness to oppose the *Spanish* forces, which were now upon the confines, and hoped to repair the loss of *Roussillon*, by some considerable advantage. *Lerida* was particularly threatned, and while *Luganex* marched thither on one side, the Marquis de *Torrecese*, an *Italian*, advanced on the other, so that the Marechal that followed the latter, was not able to retard his march. He was of opinion

opinion to attack the place immediately, without staying for the coming up of *Leganez*, but the *Spaniards* that commanded under him opposed this motion. This so mightily provoked him that he threw up his Command to the Marquies d' *Arcoyosa*, who was one of them that had contradicted it the most. This *Spaniard*, that had not conduct enough to make his best advantage of the present conjuncture, quitted the post where he was, for fear lest the *French* should cut off his provisions, and so led his Troops to joyn *Leganez*. The latter, instead of following the advice of *Torracuse*, who was infinitely more capable to command than himself, constrained him to leave the Camp, and go to meet the King at *Saragossa*; nay, he publickly own'd, that tho he could conquer *France*, if he follow'd the counsel of this *Italian*, yet he would refuse to do it. The *Spanish* Army consisted of seventeen thousand Foot, fifteen hundred Dragoons, and six thousand Horse, and had forty pieces of Cannon. Almost all the Nobility of *Spain* was there, and particularly a great number of persons that had formerly served in the Armies belonging to that Crown; so that they had reason to promise themselves good success. The Army of the Marechal de la *Mothe* consisted of no more than about eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, but the experience of the General made amends for the small number of his Troops. There was also this difference between the *Spanish* forces and those of *France*, that the latter intirely relyed upon their General, whereas a great part of the *Spanish* Army lost their courage, when they saw the Marquis de *Torracuse* leave them, who was generally esteemed by all those that knew him. The Armies being in this condition, *Leganez* thought it his best way to attack *La Mothe*, and marched towards him in order of Battel, on the first of *October*. On the seventh the Armies came in sight of one another, and the *French* being sensible of the great inequality of their Troops, endeavour'd to get the advantage of the ground, by posting themselves upon imminent places, where they had placed their Cannon; so that there was no coming to them



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without sustaining the whole shock of their great Guns. In the mean time the *Spaniards* advanced with extraordinary bravery, and having given a vigorous onset, immediately disordered the Cavalry of the Right Wing, and put them to flight, but they were beaten back on the Left, where the Mareschal commanded in person. The *French* Horse on the Right Wing abandon'd three pieces of Cannon to the *Spaniards*, and *Laganez* fearing to lose them again, gave orders to his men to carry them off from the place, to joyn the *Spanish* Artillery. In this interval his Van-guard which had gained them, instead of continuing to charge the *French*, stop'd short till the three pieces of Cannon were carried off, so that the Mareschal had time to rally his Cavalry, and lead them on again to the Charge. In a short time they return'd the like to the *Spaniards*, and pursued them in disorder towards the body of their Army, which they put into confusion. The inequality of the Troops and the coming on of the night, hindred the Mareschal from making his advantage of it, and having founded a retreat, he retired to his Camp; but being soon after informed that the *Spaniards* had withdrawn, he came back to the Field of Battle, where he pass'd the night to let the Enemy see that the advantage of the day belonged to him. *Laganez* on his side writ to the Court that he had obtain'd a signal Victory over the *French*, and that he had taken their Cannon. However the loss was in a manner equal, and it was computed that about five hundred men fell on both sides, but the small number of the *French* rendred their advantages the more considerable, besides that they had done what they at first propos'd, since by this means they hinder'd the *Spaniards* from forming the siege of *Lerida*. The Court of *Spain* made great rejoycing for this pretended Victory, and 'tis an ancient custom in that Country to feed the people with Chimerical News, by dissembling or extenuating their losses, and representing their Victories to be infinitely greater than in reality they are. The *Spaniards*, who seldom travel out of their own Country, and scarce keep any correspondence with Foreigners,

reigners, cannot inform themselves of the truth but by Officers of their own Nation, who serve in the King's Armies, and as they are not unacquainted with the Maxims of the Court, take care not to publish their losses. Thus it is generally believed in *Spain*, that the King's Forces are victorious in all places, and that the remote Provinces in his possession still continue intire, till the Treaties of Peace make them discover the contrary. After all, the particulars arrive to the knowledge but of a few persons, and the Commonalty are still lulled asleep in their ancient errors.

*Leganez* ended the Campaign by the taking of some small Castles in the neighbourhood of *Amposte*, and took so little care of provisions, that his Army was obliged for the space of three days to feed upon Asses Flesh and mouldy Bisket, which occasioned a great sickness among the men, and forced them all to disperse in *November*. This secured the *French* in the possession of *Catalonia*, and encouraged the *Catalonians* in their Rebellion. At last the King's Eyes were opened, and he perceived that they had imposed upon him, when they excused the conduct of *Leganez*. The management of this Campaign sufficiently perswaded him that the complaints which the *Italians* had made against him so long ago, were but too true. The Artifices of the Count-Duke, who began to sink very much in his credit with the King, availed nothing: So *Leganez* was deposed from his place of being General, sent at first to Prison, and afterwards as it were banished to his House in *Madrid*, being forbid to stir out of it, as well as to receive any visits. *Don Phillip de Silva* who had served a long while in the Armies of *Spain*, without obtaining any honour there, was put into his place, after he had been disgraced for not relieving of *Arras*. All *Europe* was surprized at so strange a choice; but the scarcity of persons fit to command, was at that juncture so great in this Country, that they could not tell upon whom to pitch.

While *France* obtained these advantages over the *Spaniards*, the House of *Austria* was full as unsuccessful

1642. ful in Germany. \* Leonard Torstenson, General of the Swedes, defeated them twice in the course of this Campaign. In Silesia, he cut to pieces the Emperors Army, commanded by Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and took him Prisoner; and he defeated the Arch-Duke Leopold near Leipzig. He took several considerable places, and got several other advantages over the Imperialists.

\* See the  
14 Book of  
Pufendorf.  
Hist. Rer.  
Succ.

The Count de Guebriant, with some French Troops, and the remainder of the Duke of Weymar's Army, which he commanded ever since the departure of the Duke of Longueville, contributed mightily to these Victories, altho he was at a great distance from the Swedes, because he obliged a considerable Body of the Imperial Troops to be upon the Rhine. Towards

\*Siri Mer. the beginning of the year he \* entered into the Arch-  
T. 2. l. 1. bishoprick of Colen, with seven thousand Men, and  
p. 4. &c. five pieces of Cannon. The Count de Herbestein joyn'd him with four thousand men of the Troops of the Landgrave of Hesse, and nine Field pieces. They besieged Oedinguen together, and took it by Capitulation, altho Lamboi was within three Leagues of the Place with twelve thousand men. But whether he believed the Town would hold out longer, or that he was minded to stay till General Hatzfeldt joyned him, he made no movement. The Count de Guebriant receiving advice that these two Generals designed to joyn one another, resolved to attack Lamboi, altho he was entrenched in a very advantageous place, and was full as strong as himself, that he might not have them both upon his hands at a time. He divided his Army into three Bodies, one of which was composed of French commanded by himself, the other of Hessians commanded by their own General, and the third of the Troops of the Duke of Weymar, under General Tubadel. In this order, he attacked the intrenchments of the Imperialists, and after a long resistance beat them on three sides, and put Lamboi to the rout, notwithstanding all the efforts he made to rally his men. This General, grown desperate at the defeat of his Army, return'd to the Charge with a small reserve, and after he had given great

great proofs of his bravery, was oblig'd to surrender himself Prisoner. He lost three thousand men upon the spot, besides fourteen hundred Prisoners, among whom were the principal Officers, as well as the General. After this the Count *de Guebriant* took the Town of *May*, and several other small places in the Electorate of *Colen*, where he committed great ravages.

There was a hot discourse this year of a place of Congress, to treat of a general Peace, and Passports for the Ambassadors that were to meet there. The *Spaniards*, for their particular, desired to conclude a Truce for two years with *France*, hoping in that time to make new preparations for carrying on the War; but *France* was in too formidable a posture to consent to it, and the Cardinal declared he would listen to nothing but a Peace, by which he pretended to keep some places, to make a descent upon *Germany* or *Flanders*, whenever the King pleased.

The unnatural disorders in *England* still continued, and the King being necessitated to declare War against his two Houses of Parliament, engaged himself in those unfortunate Broils, which he was never able to master, and in the end proved fatal to him. He was suspected in *France* to be inclined to *Spain*, and in *England* to have a leaning towards *France*. The Ambassador of this last Crown having addressed himself to the Parliament, after the King had broke with them, this Prince was extremely offended at it, and sent great complaints of this procedure to the Court of *France*. *Lewis XIII.* answered that it was without his orders, and to convince the *English* Envoy that it was so, he promised to call this Ambassador home, which was accordingly performed soon after. However several persons were of opinion, that he durst never have appeared in a matter of this consequence, at least without an order from the Chief Minister, who for his part was not sorry to have these disturbances last longer; it being to be feared that *England*, jealous of the Grandeur of *France*, would declare for *Spain* as soon as their troubles were over. The *French* Ambassador nevertheless protested to the King of *England*, that he had done nothing

\* The 26 of January.

\* Siri Mer.  
T. 2. l. 2.  
p. 1064.



1642. thing but with a design to induce the Parliament to a Peace; and it was said in *France* that it was not the Interest of that Crown to suffer the authority of the Parliament to encrease too much, because that Calvinism would be then more strongly established in *England*, and that this Religion might be of ill example, to the Calvinists of *France*. But after all, nothing was done in favour of the King, to support him against the Parliament, and in the sequel *France* openly declared for *Oliver Cromwell*, Protector of *England*, for fear lest he should joyn with the *Spaniards*.

*Italy*, which perhaps would have concerned it self one way or t'other, and declared for the weakest side, was still strangely disordered. Notwithstanding the  
 \* Ib. l. 1. \* intervention of most of the powers of *Italy*, to accomodate the Duke of *Parma* with the *Barberines*, the latter not only pretended to keep what they had gotten into their hands, but that the Duke should go to beg pardon of the Pope. They caused him to be cited at *Rome*, to make his appearance there at a certain time under pain of excommunication, and as the Duke was better advised than to venture himself there, the Pope brandished the Ecclesiastical Thunder against him on the 13th of *January*. Nay, they talked of putting his dominions under an Interdict, but as they were sensible that all the Powers, which had interceded for that Prince, would declare for him, if things were carried to those extremities, they laid aside that design. In the mean time the Duke took all possible measures to secure himself of the fidelity of his Subjects as well of the Laity as the Church-men, and continued to make preparations of War necessary for his defence. The Pope did the same on his side, and it was feared that he would soon swallow up the rest of the Duke of *Parma's* dominions. At last, \* after several negotiations to no purpose, the Republic of *Venice*, the great Duke of *Florence* and the Duke of *Modena*, made a defensive League with the Duke of *Parma*, to oppose the progress of the Pope's Army, in case he attempted any new conquests, and to oblige him to surrender *Castro* to the Duke of *Parma*. The Troops  
 of

\* Ib. l. 2.  
 & 3.



of *Venice* and *Florence* were ordered to advance towards the Dutchy of *Parma*, the *Modenois* to move as the Popes Army should do, and the Duke of *Parma* was ready to make an irruption into the Ecclesiastical State. This was the face of affairs in *Italy* at the beginning of the Campaign in the year 1642. The *Barberines* being informed of the resolution of the Confederate Princes, ceased to threaten, as at first they had done, those that opposed their designs, and pretended that they were desirous to end this affair by the way of negotiation. *France* employ'd it self to pacify these commotions, at least in appearance; but the Duke of *Parma* perceiving that the *Barberines* only endeavour'd to gain time, took the Field on the 10th of *September*, with about four thousand Horse, which the Marechal d' *Estrees* commanded under him, in quality of Lieutenant General. His design was to go and attack the Pope's Army, commanded by *Don Tadeo Barberini*, and in case he defeated him to march strait to the walls of *Rome*, but if he was repulsed to retire into his own Territories, covered by the forces of *Modena*, and the Troops of the Confederate Princes: That if it so happen'd that the Army of the *Barberines* kept within their Camp, it would be easy for him to go up to *Rome* without any opposition, because being inferiour to him in Horse, it would not be possible for them to follow him.

The Pope's General being acquainted with the Duke's design, ordered the greatest part of his Troops to encamp near the Castle of *St. John*, to be in a condition to oppose the Enemy's march. However neither he, nor those that commanded under him, could imagine that the Duke of *Parma* durst strike so hardy a blow, as to enter the Territory of *Bologne*, by leaving Fort *Urban* behind him, and venturing himself between that City, and the Pope's Army. Being thus lull'd asleep, they were extremely surpriz'd at the Duke's boldness, when they were not in a condition to oppose him. Their Troops were seized with terror, and as soon as those of *Parma* appeared, they fled on all sides. Thus this Army, which had given  
the

1642. the Alarm to all *Italy*, was in a short time made unable to oppose a small body of Horse, without Artillery, and supported by no Foot. On the other hand, the Duke of *Parma's* Army advanced as far as *Castiglione del Lago* in *Romagna*, and struck a terror into

\* Ib. T. 1. *Rome*. At this time the \* Negotiations were set on foot afresh, the Duke offering to withdraw, provided that *Castro* was put into the hands of the Confederates, with a promise to deliver it up to him in a short time. The *Barberines* being in a great fright, had recourse to the Ministers of *France*, and desired them to interpose the authority of the King, to bring this affair to some accommodation: Altho they were not sorry in *France* to see these disorders and broils in *Italy*, yet they were afraid lest the Confederate Princes, seeing the happy success of the Duke of *Parma's* enterprize, might form some designs disadvantageous to the rest of *Italy*. For this reason they were glad of any opportunity to stop the progress of the League, and they did it effectually, by beginning to negotiate afresh. The Ministers of several Princes, and those of the Pope, met at *Castel Georgio* for this purpose; but after abundance of proposals on both sides, nothing was concluded upon, and yet the Duke of *Parma* withdrew his Troops out of the Ecclesiastic State. This was the only thing which the *Barberines* desired, and perhaps the other Powers helped them to deceive the Confederate Princes.

However, 'tis certain, that during these divisions, Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, General of the *French* Troops in *Italy*, took *Nice de la Paille* from the King of *Spain* by composition, dated the 3d of *September*. On the 20th of the following month, the Marquis de *Pianezza* re-took *Verrue*; the taking of which place was of consequence for the time to come; and Prince *Thomas* made himself master of the City of *Tortone* at the beginning of *October*, and of the Castle on the 25th of *November*. The King, to recompence the services of this Prince, made him a present of this Town, and the Territory belonging to it; and after this manner the Campaign ended. The *Spaniards* had in vain attempted to relieve it, but could not hinder the taking  
of

of it, and the succours which they threw into the Castle, did not defend it with more success. Thus the projects of *France* were almost every where fortunate under the Conduct of the Cardinal-Duke, while the Count-Duke saw the King of *Spain* come by the worst in all places, through his want of dexterity. Another misfortune happen'd to him about the end of the year, as he endeavour'd to make some attempt before he return'd to *Castile*. The Catholic King sent some Troops to reduce the City of *Monzon*, which the *French* possessed upon the frontiers of *Aragon*, and from whence they made frequent excursions into the most fertile part of that Kingdom; but a furious tempest happen'd, which broke down the Bridge of *Fragues*, over which they must pass, and entirely dissipated that small remainder of men which the *Spaniards* had. And soon after, the King, who was provoked to see that nothing but ill success attended all his undertakings, disgraced the Count-Duke, after he had been fully convinced that this Favourite was in no respect to be compared with the Chief Minister of *Lewis XIII.*

To return now to the Cardinal, and represent the last Scene of so busie a life; altho he had taken all imaginable care to recover his health, yet he continued in a languishing condition, ever since his return from *Roussillon*. The King being at *Fontainebleau* \* in \* *The 17. October*, the Minister went to visit him there, altho *Siri Merc.* he had still a pain in his Arm, and felt some *F. 2. l. 3.* approaches of an Ague. From thence he went to *Paris*, where having summon'd the Privy Counsellors to wait upon him at his house, he fell upon several projects for the ensuing Campaign. Some were of advice to make a vigorous irruption into the Kingdom of *Aragon*, which might easily be effected, since the dissipation of the Army commanded by the *Marquis de Leganee*. But to this others objected, that it was to no purpose to advance so far, because the first Treaty of Peace would oblige them to surrender up, all that they had conquer'd on that side; and besides, that this Country being at too great a distance from the heart of *France*, and the presence of the King, which

1642. which is so necessary to animate and give life to all great undertakings, it would be impossible to perform any considerable action there. Others gave their opinion to make the chief effort on the side of the *Low Countries*; but then it was objected, that there were too many strong places on that quarter; and that experience had made them see, that they must spend a whole Campaign to take one Town; so that the advantage they got by any Conquest, did by no means ballance the expence they were at to obtain it. Some proposed *Italy*; but before it would be safe for them to advance thither, they must destroy the League, and principally disengage the *Venetians* from it, who seem'd to be the most zealous for the repose of their Neighbours, and would infallibly take the alarm, if they once saw a powerful Army on the other side the Mountains. At last, they talked of making an attempt upon the *Franche-Comte*, which was much more feasible than any of the rest. The Cardinal listen'd to these proposals, as a man that had several years to live, and flatter'd himself that he should make great Conquests in a few Campaigns.

\* The 15 of  
November.

However, to unbend himself from so many serious occupations, which insensibly impair'd his health, he caus'd a strange sort of a \* Comedy to be represented at his Palace, which contained part of these thoughts that employ'd his mind. It was intitled *Europe*, and the principal person in it was a Lady of that name, who had several Lovers, that endeavour'd to gain her good esteem and affection. The two chief Gallants were called *Iberus* and *Francion*; but in the conclusion the merit of the latter carried the fair prize away from his Rival. All the remarkable occurrences that happen'd ever since the opening of the War, to the conspiracy of *Cinq-Mars*, were recited in this composition.

However the King tarrying still at *S. Germain*, the Council came to no resolution in their Conferences about the War, so that the Cardinal judg'd it expedient to hold it before the King, but he would not go to *S. Germain*, which as he pretended was too open a place, and not secure enough for him, by reason  
that

that the King's Guards were infected with the designs of the Master of the Horse. He therefore proposed to his Majesty to come in person to *Paris*, or to go to *S. Maure*, or to *Bois de Bologne*, much after the same manner as one Sovereign Prince would treat with another. After he had seen that Prince tamely abandon his Favourite, and not dare to pardon any one for fear of offending him, he found nothing now that was above him, or that the King was not obliged to do in his favour. He demanded of this weak Prince, that he would cashier *Tilladet*, *la Sale*, *des Effardi*, and *Treville*, Captains in the Guards, against whom he could alledge nothing, but only that they were not enemies to *Cinq-Mars*. But above all, he would have the last of these turn'd out, whom he knew *Cinq-Mars* had solicited against him, and that he had answered, he would do every thing that the King commanded him. Being a man of an undaunted, open Spirit, he look'd upon him to be capable to attempt any thing so soon as the King should mention it to him; and he was jealous of him, because he never apply'd himself to any one but his Majesty. As the Cardinal shar'd authority with the Prince, and had infinitely more resolution, conduct, and capacity, he imagin'd that all *France* owed no less to him, than they did to *Lewis XIII.* But tho the *French* have naturally a profound veneration for the person of their Kings, yet they hate their Ministers when they abase their power; so that if the Cardinal knew how to make himself be feared, yet he could never make himself be loved.

At this time he made another request to the King, which had it been made to any other King, he would certainly have punished the unpardonable insolence of it; and it was as follows, that whenever he should go to see the King for the future, his own Guards might be introduced, and appear in an equal number to those of his Majesty. This Prince, who believed that all the good success of his Armies and Negotiations was fasten'd to the person of his Minister, and who had been long accustom'd to have an extraordinary kindness for him, receiv'd the Cardinal's proposal



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posal very mildly, which would have been High Treason in any one else. This dexterous Minister knowing perfectly well the Genius of his Master, and being resolved still to inhance his own value with him, at this time gave out that he would no longer concern himself with public affairs. He no longer gave access to the Ministers of foreign Princes at his own House, with a design, as he pretended, to disengage himself in a short time wholly from the Ministry. The King being inform'd of these discourses, was mightily alarm'd at the News, and was afraid that the Cardinal thought in earnest to quit that post, for the conservation of which he had levell'd so many considerable Heads, and committed so many acts of injustice, that I don't believe there had the like been done in several reigns, as during the 18 years of his Ministry. At this time a certain business happen'd, whether by accident, or by address of the Minister, which served not a little to encrease the King's inquietude upon this occasion. D' Estrade who resided at Court, from the part of Frederic-Henri Prince of Orange, said that his Master had ingeniously own'd that he had listen'd to Propositions of a Peace or Truce with Spain, so soon as he heard that the Cardinal was gone from Marbonne, and that the favour of the Master of the Horse encreased, because he thought that if that Minister were once excluded from the public affairs, there could be no dependance for the future upon the steadiness of the conduct of France. The King was extremely surprized at this discourse, when it was related to him, and the Cardinal thought himself so much obliged to the Prince of Orange, that he writ to him, about six weeks before he dyed, by the abovemention'd D' Estrade, who returned into Holland, in these terms. He (meaning D' Estrade) can inform you how gratefully I acknowledge the advantageous opinion you had of me, both upon the score of my Sickness, and the impediments which some ill-desposed men would give his Majesty's affairs. I want words to thank you sufficiently for the great favour you have done me on these occasions, but I beseech you to believe that I will lose

\* Aubery  
Mem. T. 2.  
p. 844

lose no opportunity to let you see with what sincerity I am, &c. 1642.

However the King could not resolve at first to part with these Captains, of whose fidelity he had no occasion to doubt, but the Cardinal to extort it from him, dispatched *Chavigni* one of the Secretaries of State to him, with a writing wherein he desired his Majesty to grant him a discharge. Upon this the King, contrary to his custom, could not forbear to testify his resentments against *Chavigni*, forbidding him to come in his presence. Nay he added, that as he suspected several of those that were about the Cardinal, it was but just that the Minister should satisfy him likewise, and named *Chavigni* himself and *De Noyers*. He treated the latter very courly, and did not soften till after the repeated instances of Cardinal *Mazarine*. But after he had vexed himself for some time, as one private man would do with his equal, he was appeased at last, and sacrificed the most zealous of his Servants to the Cardinal. Nevertheless he gave them permission to sell their Employes, and ordered that their Lieutenants should exercise them in the mean time, and that their pensions should be paid them, where-ever they thought fit to retire. He sent a Gentleman to *Travelle* to assure him that the King loved him as well as ever, and that his favour should never diminish by his absence.

The Court being thus purged from the rest of the Faction, as the Cardinal's Creatures express'd themselves, his authority appear'd in its full extent: But at the same time not only the King's health, who was extremely alter'd ever since the death of *Cinq-Mars*, but also that of the Cardinal began to lessen sensibly, and towards the end of *November* he found himself seized with an exceeding pain in his side, which was accompanied with a Fever. He had been troubled for several years with the Hemorrhoids, and that distemper had frequently made him suffer a great deal of pain, till a Physician stop't them. But ever since that time, as if this too acid blood had thrown it self upon the upper parts, he had a defluxi-

1642. on upon his arm, to cure which he was forced to employ Caustics. However he past the year 1641 without any considerable inconvenience, but the year following having stopped the Ulcer in his Arm, it seems the humour, which had an Issue there, made two imposthumes above his Lungs, which shortned his days. 'Tis commonly the fate of great persons to be the worse served, as for what relates to the cure of their Distempers, than ordinary men, for as none but Courtiers can have access to them, who understand no profession but that of Flattery, 'tis almost impossible for them to have good Physicians.

As it usually happens, in such distempers as the Cardinal was troubled with, that the Patients are sometimes better and sometimes worse, the hopes of the Relations and Creatures of this Minister increased and diminish'd by turns, and sometimes joy, and sometimes sadness was to be read in their countenances. 'Tis credibly reported that the King's rough manner of receiving his last pretensions, altho at last he complied with them, did discompose him, as if the King had been obliged wholly to submit himself to his desires. However 'tis certain, that on the 29th of *November* the pain in his side increased extremely, so that he was blooded twice. It was likewise ordered that the Holy Sacrament should be \* exposed in all the Churches of *Paris*, to endeavour to obtain his health of God; but these Prayers and Ceremonies were no more efficacious, than the interested vows of his Relations. The following day he seem'd to be better, and those who desired his preservation began to say that God himself had appeared for it, but towards the end of the same day they were forced to alter their tone; for the pain in his side still encreased, as well as his Fever, which was accompanied with great difficulty of breathing, which made his Relations leave him neither by day nor by night. On the 2d of *December* a consult of Physicians was held, the result of which was, that the Cardinal had but a short time to live. The King being inform'd of the extremity he was in, made him a visit, and spoke to him with a great deal of tenderness and concern.

The

\* The 30  
which fell  
on a Sunday.

The Cardinal told him among other things, "That 1642.  
 "he took his leave of his Majesty, knowing that he  
 "was condemn'd to pay in a short time the common  
 "Tribute which all men owe to Nature: That he  
 "said this last adieu to his Majesty with the entire  
 "satisfaction he felt, that he had never done any  
 "thing in his whole life contrary to his service:  
 "That he left *France* in the highest reputation it e-  
 "ver had enjoy'd in the world, and her Enemies on  
 "the other hand humbled; that he asked no other  
 "recompence of his Majesty for all his toils and la-  
 "bours, than the continuance of his Royal protecti-  
 "on to his Relations, to whom he would not give  
 "his Benediction, but upon the condition they  
 "would always preserve an inviolable fidelity to the  
 "King; that lastly, he requested his Majesty not to  
 "change the Ministry, since those that were then  
 "concerned in the administration of publick affairs,  
 "were extremely fit and capable to serve the Crown.  
 To these he added some important instructions, con-  
 ducting to the Grandeur of the Kingdom, which  
 were never published, but 'tis said they have been  
 since followed. The King by his answers testified how  
 much he was concern'd at the Cardinals condition, and  
 promised him to protect his Relations, with whom as  
 he said he had other reasons to be well satisfied. Af-  
 terwards two yolks of Eggs being brought to him,  
 the King took them and gave them to him with his  
 own hand. After this, he confest himself to *M. de*  
*Lescot*, Bishop of *Chartres* elect, from whom he re-  
 ceiv'd absolution. At last, he asked the Physicians  
 how long they thought he might live? who told him,  
 that since they saw him so unconcern'd to dye, they  
 would not dissemble with him, that they did not be-  
 lieve his distemper as yet was desperate, and that he  
 must wait till the seventh day. However, finding  
 himself much worse towards the evening, he demand-  
 ed the *Vaticum*, and the Curate of *S. Eustachias*  
 brought it to him. As he entred, he cry'd out: *Be-*  
*hold my Judge, who will soon pronounce my Sentence: I*  
*desire him with all my heart to condemn me, if in my*  
*Ministry I have propos'd any other end to my self than*

1642. *the good of Religion and of the State.* Next morning, \* at break of day, he would receive the Extreme Unction, \* The 3 of and the Curate having told him that it was not necessary for a person of his rank to pass through all the ordinary forms which others are oblig'd to do, he would not suffer himself to be treated otherwise than as a common man. Thus after he had recited to him the principal Articles of Belief, he said, *That he embraced them with a perfect Faith, and that he desired to have a thousand lives, to sacrifice them all for the Faith, and for the Church.* As he demanded of him, whether he forgave his enemies? he answer'd, *That he did it with all his heart, and after the same manner as he besought the divine justice to use him.* And being asked, that in case God would be pleas'd to grant him a longer life, whether he would employ it better in his service than the time past? he reply'd, *May God rather send me a thousand Deaths, if he foresees that I shall consent to one mortal sin.* He likewise recommended himself to the Prayers of the standers by, in a manner that sensibly affected them; and a man that had lived all along conformable to the precepts of the Gospel, could not have testified a greater confidence in God.

Altho he was given over by his Physicians, and there was no likelihood for him to recover, an Emperic of *Troyes*, named *le Fevre*, being presented to him, and having boasted extraordinary matters of I don't know what sort of a Water and Pills he had, the Cardinal was willing to try the experiment, whether he knew more than the rest of his profession. The same day he took some of his Water and Pills before dinner, and seem'd to be somewhat the better for them; however he continu'd to take his leave of those that were about him, with a strong hearty voice, and a serene countenance, and appear'd not to have the least concern upon his mind. The King came to see him again after dinner, and express'd all imaginable marks of a real affection. About five a clock, having taken a new Pill, he fancied himself to be much better; and on the 4th of *December* in the morning, after he had taken some Physick, his  
Fever



Fever seem'd to be abated, and his Friends thought him out of danger. But in a few hours he fell into so great a weakness, that they easily perceiv'd him to be now in his last agonies. Then a certain Religious, whose name was *Pere Leon*, kneeling before his Bed, asked him, if, being now in the last moments of his life, when he was going to render an account to God of all his actions, and was upon the brink of Eternity, he would not receive the last Absolution. The Cardinal giving a sign that he desired it, the Religious replyed, that while the defluxion took away the free use of his Tongue, he ought to joyn in Spirit to what was said; and for a sign of his sincere repentance, he desir'd him to squeeze his hand, which he did. After this, the usual Prayers for dying persons were said, and they gave him every moment spoonfuls of Wine to support him. In the mean time a cold sweat seized him, and about noon, as he repeated *In manus tuas Domine*, he gave up the Ghost, without any struggling or violence. Thus died this great Minister, in the fifty eighth year of his life, the eighteenth of his Ministry, and the ninth month of his sickness, after a Fever of six days continuance.

He had made his Will at *Narbonne* on the 23d of *May*, the several \* Articles of which I shall not give my self the trouble to set down here: I shall only take notice, that besides the *Palais Cardinal*, and some other things, which he had given the King by way of Contract, he bequeathed to him eight suits of Tapistry, and three Beds, to serve as part of the Furniture for the principal Apartments of that Palace; the *Hotel* before it, which he design'd to have turn'd into a Square; and, what was more considerable, the sum of fifteen hundred thousand Livres, which he said had done him very good service in the greatest affairs of State; so that if he had not had that Money at his disposal, some designs which succeeded happily, would in all probability have miscarried; for which reason he begg'd of his Majesty to keep such a sum always ready by him, to employ it upon pressing occasions, when he had no other Money in his

\* See it in  
Siri's Mer.  
T. 2. l. 3.  
and at the  
end of his  
Life by Au-  
bey.

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Coffers. He likewise desired that his Library might be kept entire, and that the *Sorbonne* might name three persons, out of which number the Dukes of *Richlieu* might choose one, to be *Bibliothecaire*, with a pension of a thousand Livres *per annum*. Besides this, he rewarded all those that had served him, and with whom he was satisfied, unless he had otherwise recompenced them when he was alive. When a man compares his Legacies and his other Donations with those that abundance of Princes reward their Servants with, he fancies he reads the Testament of a King when he reads his, and that he sees the Wills of private persons when he reads those of some Princes. Tho he left a prodigious wealth to *Armand de Maille*, his Nephew, and his other Heirs, yet it may with justice be affirm'd, that he did not drain the Royal Exchequer to enrich them; that he scarce ever suffer'd the Kings Armies to want, and that he neglected no favourable opportunity, for want of being at some expence, which are the ordinary faults that most Ministers of State may be charged with.

\* Aubery  
Suj.

His Body being open'd, the Doctors found two Imposthumes, one of them had broke some time before, and the other kill'd him in the breaking. His Lungs were tainted, but the rest of his Entrails were found. Those that have writ the History of his Life, have observed that the \* *Organs of the Understanding* were found double or treble in him; but don't tell us what parts of the Brain they take to be the Organs of the Understanding: after which they add, that people attributed the vivacity of his mind, and the force of his Judgment to this. I leave it to the Anatomists and Philosophers to pass their judgment upon this remark. His Body lay expos'd to publick view three or four days in his Cardinal's habit upon a Brocard Bed. A Duke's Coronet lay at his feet on one side, and on the other a Ducal Mantle. At the Beds feet stood a Cross, and several Silver Flambeaux adorn'd with lighted Tapers. On the 13th of *December* his Body was carried to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, upon a Chariot cover'd with a Pall of black Velvet, cross'd with white Sattin, on which were  
his

his Arms. This Chariot was drawn by six Horses, with coverings trailing on the ground of the same Stuff. His Pages marched on his side with Tapers of white Wax in their hands. An infinite number of people followed the Herse, some in Coaches, others on Horseback, and on foot. On the 28th of *January* a solemn service was celebrated for him at *Notre-Dame*, to which the Sovereign Courts were invited. The terms of the invitation were as follow: *Noble and devout persons, pray for the Soul of the most high, most powerful and most virtuous, the most illustrious and eminent Lord ARMAND JOHN DU PLESSIS, Cardinal of Richlieu, Duke, Peer, Grand Master, and Intendant of the Navigation, and Commerce of France; one of the Prelates, and Commanders of the Order of the Holy Ghost; Chief of the Council, and Principal Minister of State to the King; for whose Soul, Services and Prayers shall be kept in the Church of Paris; in which place next Monday after noon will be said the Vespers and Vigils of the Dead; and on Tuesday the day following his solemn service will be celebrated, at ten in the morning. Pray to God that he would be merciful to his Soul.* On the fourteenth of *February* another grand Service was kept for him in the Church of the *Sorbonne*, where *Isaac Hubert*, a Divine of *Notre-Dame*, and afterwards Bishop of *Vabres*, made his Funeral Harangue.

Such was the Death, and such was the Funeral of the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, whose \* description, both as to his body and mind, is after this manner. He had an agreeable air tho he was lean, he was of a delicate stature, and tall enough. He was of a tender constitution, and his unwearied application to business still made it weaker. As for his Wit, it was quick and lively, and at the same time piercing and vast, and capable of all affairs of State. His Judgment was profound and solid in these sorts of things. He could not bear an injury, and nothing was more agreeable and pleasing to him than Revenge. He was proud and choleric, yet at the same time affable and full of sweetness and civility. He discoursed easily and with eloquence enough, a talent which he had

\*Siri.Aub.

acquired and cultivated by study, as well as by practice. He was not destitute of Learning, which he had carried to a much higher pitch, if he had continued his studies with the same warmth and industry as he began them. He was courageous and undaunted in time of danger where the State was concerned, and run great hazards, altho he is accused of fearfulness in his own private affairs. When they did not succeed he was cast down and dejected, but when Fortune smil'd upon him, and he had compass'd what he desired, nothing could be more haughty, more imperious, and insulting. He loved Flattery in a most excessive manner, and complements never pleased him heartily, but when they were gigantick and extremely Hyperbolical.

Besides a world of Political Maxims observed by this Minister, which may easily be found out in the perusal of this History, and consequently need not to be repeated in this place, \* 'tis said he had three beloved ones, which are worthy of observation, and were principally learnt from himself. I. He said, that in matters of great importance, he had frequently experimented it, that persons of the least wisdom oftentimes gave the best expedients. For this reason he concluded that a man ought always to take advice. II. He said, that those resolutions which he had taken up in a heat and passion, had always succeeded ill with him, and that he had heartily repented of them. III. He has been heard to say, that men of Quality ought to take great care that the Servants they keep in their Chamber, or about their persons, be not too penetrating, because it may so happen, that by the least word, nay, even by the least sign, they may in spite of themselves discover their most secret sentiments, and their most hidden designs.

Those who were Favourites of the King, after the \* Constable *de Luines*, as for example, *Baradas* and *S. Simon* were content to enjoy his Majesty's favour, without concerning themselves with State affairs; but the Cardinal was no sooner taken into favour, but he undertook the administration of eve-

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ry thing. He was arbitrator of all the deliberations in respect of Peace and of War, Master of the Finances, and dispenser of all the King's favours. He disposed of the strongest places belonging to the State, and of all Offices that depended upon the Court; so that the greatest persons strove for his favour with no less zeal and application than even the meanest.

The King had an extraordinary affection for him at first, but this friendship was mightily lessen'd in his latter years, through the too assuming behaviour of the Cardinal, who often treated him as his equal. Nevertheless the natural fearfulness of *Lewis XIII.*, and the great services of this Minister hindered him from finding any ill effects of this coldness. The King had more than once shown himself somewhat inclined to discard him from all publick business, especially when he sent him word by the Duke of *Angouleme*, as some report, that he thought it proper for him to dismiss his Guards, which had been granted him for his security: To which the Cardinal made answer, that he was ready to obey his Majesty in that and every thing besides, but that while the King made use of his person, he would pretend to live in safety, and to preserve himself from those Conspiracies which some factious persons might form against him.

For fear of being overwhelmed under the weight of public affairs, which the weakness of his constitution would not suffer him to attend perpetually, he assigned certain hours for recreation, where he would not hear the least mention made of any thing that demanded too much application. For this reason he kept *Boisrobert* about him, who diverted him with a thousand agreeable stories, and told him all the news of the Court and City, proper to make him laugh. Among his other amusements, we may reckon the great pleasure he took to speak of the *French Language and Poetry*. The Author of the *History of the Academy* has related several considerable



ble stories to this purpose, which I shall not set down here, because I have propos'd to my self to write the History of the Cardinal's Ministry, and not of his private diversions. The Reader may consult the above-mentioned Author, as for what he says of our Minister, upon the occasion of his establishing the *French Academy*. Nay, he gave orders that no difficult affairs should be propos'd to him but one after another; and he employ'd both for his own in particular, and for those of the State, *de Noyers*, *Bonshillier*, and *Chavigni*, altho there were some which he only communicated to the King.

After he had taken such measures as he judg'd necessary for the preservation of his own person, he thought of nothing with more application, than how to maintain himself in this eminent post; which it was no easie matter for him to do, by reason of the great numbers of envious and disaffected people whom he had made. Daily endeavours were used to possess the King with suspicions to the disadvantage of our Minister; and 'tis certain, that this inconstant, distrustful Prince, whose dark Genius was so hard to be found out, gave him no small trouble. And therefore, to hinder his Majesty from being prejudic'd against him, before he could be able to justify himself, he took care to remove all those persons from about him whom he in the least suspected, and only left such near him as depended absolutely upon himself. As he saw that the King was scrupulous, and that the fear of doing something against his Conscience, held him sometimes in a long deliberation, prejudicial to the affairs of the State, he would be the director of his Conscience, and ease him of those scruples which embarrass'd him. He pretended that the Kings Confessor ought to follow his Maxims, and got Father *Cassini* the Jesuit to be dismissed, because he would not be obedient to him.

The greatest ambition of this Minister was to reign, and make a noise in the world; to which end it behov'd him to preserve himself in his post, and to render himself absolutely necessary to the

the King. This he effected, by engaging him everlastingly in some new enterprize or other, because it was an infallible Maxim with this Prince, never to part with any Minister, till he had concluded the affairs which he had begun; and besides, he did not look upon himself to be able to govern the State of himself. He saw that the King on one side was but indifferently affected to the House of *Austria*, and on the other very much inclined to a Peace. To satisfy these two inclinations, he promis'd to humble that Crown so effectually, that this should produce a lasting and secure Peace to *France*. The King, altho of a soft and peaceable disposition, yet he was no enemy to what might obtain him a reputation in the world, provided the undertaking would not give him too much trouble; and the Cardinal took care to propose such projects to him as were proper to make a noise, and engaged for the success of them. Thus he made himself Master of the King's mind, and did what he pleased under his name.

For his own glory, he voluntarily engaged in mighty designs, and as he was fortunate enough in his Wars, so he lost no opportunity to make new Conquests, and employ'd all sort of artifices to accomplish them. He laid the foundation of an Universal Monarchy, and did not despair of compleating it by the ruin of *Spain*, to which he gave two dangerous blows, by supporting the Rebellion of the *Catalonians* and *Portugueses*.

To facilitate the execution of these vast projects, it was necessary before all things to secure *France* from the invasions of her Neighbours, and to put her in a condition to pour down her Forces where-ever she should see convenient. This he began to perform with a great deal of success. *Paris* lying too near the Frontiers of the *Low Countries*, and having been terrified more than once by the incursions of the Enemy, ever since the time of *John de Worth*, the Cardinal endeavour'd to enlarge the Frontiers of the Kingdom on that side, which he did by the Conquest of *Artois*, and which he had continued by the reduction of several places, which would have served as a Rampart  
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to *France*, if he had lived. He colour'd these designs with a pretence of recovering what had formerly belonged to the Crown. The same reason made him undertake the Conquest of *Roussillon*, which if once in her hands, would secure *France* on the side of the *Pyrenees*. For the same consideration likewise, he advised the King to get some place or other upon the *Rhine*, whatever it cost him; and this made *France*, after the Death of the Duke of *Weymar*, seize *Brisac* with that greediness. And it was for this prospect also, that the King could never be brought to surrender *Pignerol*, that so he might be in a condition to act in *Italy*, whenever he pleased; for at that time he only made War there for the Reputation of his Crown, and for the Support of his Sister and his Nephew, against the *Spaniards*. After he had employ'd *Bellievre* in vain, to engage the Princes of *Italy* in a League against *Spain*, he no longer thought of making any Conquests there, for it was his opinion, that such an enterprize could not succeed, without the assistance of at least one half of those powers, between whom *Italy* is divided.

Amidst these projects, relating to the Grandeur of the Crown, and to satisfy his own Ambition, he took care to provide himself a secure retreat, in case any misfortune should oblige him to retire. For this end he always kept a considerable sum at *Havre de Grace* to serve him in time of necessity; nay, he had purchased a Sovereignty upon the *Meuse*, by buying *Chateau-Renaud* in the King's name, and making himself Master of *Charleville*. He likewise caused a Royal Fort to be built at some distance from *Sedan*, upon a Mountain, with a design to make himself Master of that City, when time should serve, and not incorporate it to the Crown. For this reason he forbore to attack it with all the Forces of the Kingdom, in the beginning of the troubles, raised by the Duke of *Bonillon*, as otherwise he might have done. His design being to buy it for himself, so soon as he found a favourable opportunity.

Setting this aside, 'tis certain that he made the King absolute Master of his dominions, by changing  
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the Governments, which generally lasted for life before; that so the respective Governours might not come to be too powerful; and by punishing Rebellions severely; whereas the method formerly was to grant the Malecontents some rewards, in order to oblige them to lay down their arms. Under his Ministry he made no Treaty, by which any more was granted to those that had raised any commotions, than a bare impunity; but he never permitted them to have the least share in public affairs afterwards.

By a strong, a steady and equal conduct, he knew how to make the best advantage of all the occurrences of that time, and turn'd the greatest tempests into calms, where he peaceably enjoy'd the fruits of his labours. In short, after he had triumphed over his own private Enemies as well as those of the State, he died in the highest pitch of glory, and in an extraordinary esteem with his own Prince.

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